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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

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NEW SERIES, NO. XXXIII.

JANUARY, 1828.

ART. I.—*A History of the Colonies planted by the English on the Continent of North America, from their Settlement to the Commencement of that War which terminated in their Independence.* By JOHN MARSHALL. Philadelphia. Abraham Small. pp. 486.

TWENTY-THREE years have elapsed, since the work standing at the head of this article was given to the public by its distinguished author. It was originally prefixed to his Life of General Washington, as an Introduction necessary to the full understanding of the events of the revolution. It is now detached from that highly valuable work, the merits of which we hope, at some future period, to bring in an ample manner before our readers, if indeed there be any to whom they are unknown, and it is again presented to the public in the form of a distinct history of the colonies, adapted for an independent circulation. We entirely approve of the plan of originally annexing it to the Life of Washington; and we equally approve of its present separation in the manner adopted by the author, and for the reasons, which he assigns. A general knowledge of the antecedent history of the colonies is indispensable, for a correct understanding of the history of the revolution, whether it be read for edification, or for the mere amusement of idle hours.

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The character of the colonists themselves, their origin, progress, and governments, their local disputes and controversies, their constant struggles against the claims of the crown and its agents, the early assertion of their rights and privileges, the structure of their institutions, the boldness and freedom of their opinions upon political subjects, their manners, habits, and pursuits, their exertions and services in the wars, in which the mother country was involved, their sacrifices in defence of their settlements, their splendid, though often unrequited labors for the advancement of English glory and English power, must all be thoroughly studied before any stranger can comprehend the nature or the causes of the revolution. It will otherwise remain a profound mystery, how a little tax upon tea should have kindled a general indignation; or how the assertion of a right by the British Parliament to tax us without representation, urged almost as an abstract theory, with scarcely any practical oppression, should have brought on a contest with thirteen colonies, having separate interests and objects, and united them at once in a common warfare for life, liberty, and independence. The author himself has, however, so well explained his motives for the undertaking in a preface, written with so much clearness and simplicity, that we willingly transcribe it into our pages, as a far more satisfactory vindication, than any, which we could presume to offer.

'So large a portion of the life of General Washington was devoted to the public, so elevated and important were the stations which he filled, that the history of his life is, at the same time, the history of his nation.

'The part he took, while commander in chief, in the civil as well as military affairs of the United States, was so considerable, that few events of general interest occurred, which were not, in some degree, influenced by him. A detail of the transactions in which he was either immediately or remotely concerned, would comprehend so great a part of those, which belong to general history, that the entire exclusion of the few, in which he bore no part, while it would scarcely give to the work more of the peculiar character of biography, would expose it to the charge of being an incomplete history of the times.

'His administration of the government, while president of the United States, cannot be well understood without a full knowledge of the political measures of the day, and of the motives by which his own conduct was regulated.

'These considerations appeared to require, that his biography

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should present a general historical view of the transactions of the time, as well as a particular narrative of the part performed by himself.

'Our ideas of America, of the character of our revolution, of those who engaged in it, and of the struggles by which it was accomplished, would be imperfect without some knowledge of our colonial history. No work had been published, when this was undertaken, from which that knowledge could be collected. To have taken up the history of the United States, when the command of the army was conferred on General Washington, would have been to introduce the reader abruptly into the midst of scenes and transactions, with the causes of which, and with the actors in them, he would naturally wish to be intimately acquainted. This was the apology of the author for the introductory volume to the Life General Washington. Had the essays since written towards a general history of the English colonies been then in possession of the public, this volume would not have appeared. But, although they might have prevented its appearance, they ought not to prevent its being corrected and offered to the public in a form less exceptionable, than that which it originally bore. From the extreme, I may add unpardonable, precipitation with which it was hurried to the press, many errors were overlooked, which, on a perusal of the book, were as apparent to the author as to others. He was desirous of correcting these errors, and of making the work more worthy of the public, to which it was offered, as well as more satisfactory to himself. For this purpose he has given it, since the impressions, under which it was compiled, have worn off, more than one attentive reading; has made several alterations in the language; and has expunged much of the less essential matter, with which the narrative was burthened. He dares not flatter himself, that he has succeeded completely in his attempt to entitle this work to the approbation of the literary public of America; but hopes that its claims to that approbation are stronger than in its original form.

'Believing that motives no longer exist for connecting the History of the English Colonies in North America with the Life of Washington, the author has obtained permission of the proprietor of the copyright to separate the Introduction from the other volumes, and to publish it as a distinct work.'

The task of revision, thus modestly announced, has been performed with scrupulous care, and with some severity of judgment on the part of the learned author. He has obviously gone over the work with a keen and searching eye, and has given it the benefit of the corrections furnished by his most mature review. He has submitted it to a compression rare

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among authors, and instead of increasing its size, he has exercised a praiseworthy diligence in condensing the contents into the smallest space. The introduction to the Life of Washington extended over a space of seven hundred and twentytwo pages, occupying a volume and a half. In its revised form it is now moulded into a single volume, of four hundred and fiftyseven pages of the same size.

Before entering farther upon any consideration of the nature, importance, or execution of the work, we must be allowed to indulge ouselves in withdrawing for a short time the attention of our readers from the book to the man. In short, we wish to present them with a sketch of his life and public services, and refresh ourselves and them with the contemplation of a character, in which there is nothing of inconsistency to regret, and much, very much, to incite to laudable ambition. In so doing we trust, that we shall gratify many of our readers. The young cannot be presumed to have an intimate knowledge of the labors and services of their fathers; and the aged may revive some scenes of departed time, and retrace with pleasure some faded reminiscences, by gathering up the fragments of the interesting life of a contemporary. The period has not yet arrived, in which we may venture to draw aside the veil, which conceals from the public gaze those personal traits and anecdotes, those warm touches of taste and character, those instances of familiar kindness, of elegant simplicity, and of attractive virtue, which belong to the biography of the great and good, when the grave has quietly closed over them. We hope, that the period is distant, is far distant, which shall demand from some kindred mind the performance of such solemn and affecting obsequies. The exclamation of the poet will now find a corresponding response, *serus in cœlum redeas*, undebased by the slightest admixture of flattery.

But though we may not invade the privacy of domestic and social life, we deem ourselves at liberty to deal with the public acts and character of such a man, for they belong to the records and fame of his country. They have already become a part of our history, and are interwoven with some of the proudest events in our annals. The venerable age, too, of Mr Marshall, while it equally removes from us and him every other wish, than to close his life in the performance of the duties of his present office, imparts to every thought somewhat of the sobriety and softened charm, which belong to the memory of

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those, whose career is already finished. We view him as almost on the confines of a past age, and as the connecting link, which binds us to our revolutionary statesmen and heroes. If therefore our sketch be, as it must necessarily be, imperfect, we trust it will not be unacceptable to those, who contemplate the struggles of the past with lofty sensibility, or look to our future glory with honest pride, as settled on the immoveable and broad foundations of the union.

Mr Chief Justice Marshall is the son of the late Colonel Thomas Marshall, and was born on the 24th of September, 1755, in Fauquier, then one of the frontier counties of the state of Virginia. He is the eldest of fifteen children, of whom seven are now living; and we have often heard it repeated by those, who were well acquainted with the family, that all the children, the females as well as the males, possessed superior intellectual endowments. His father was a planter of a very small fortune, and had received a limited education. Nature, however, had been very bountiful to him. His talents were of a high order, and he assiduously cultivated and improved them, so that he maintained through life the reputation of being an extraordinary man. No father ever possessed more unboundedly the admiration and reverence of his children. We have often listened with delight to the tribute of praise bestowed on him by filial affection, and heard the declaration from the lips of one of his most gifted sons, that his father was an abler man than any of his children.

In the local position of the family, almost upon the frontier settlements, it was of course, that the early education of his children should devolve upon its head. Colonel Marshall superintended the studies of his son, and gave him an early and decided taste for history and poetry. At the age of twelve, John had transcribed Pope's Essay on Man, and also some of his moral essays. The love for poetry, thus awakened in his warm and vigorous mind, has never ceased to exert over it a commanding influence. Unless we are greatly misinformed, the enthusiasm of his youth often engaged him in the gay imaginings and fond indulgences of the muse; and throughout every period of his life, he has read with intense interest the lighter as well as the loftier productions of the divine art. The contrast, indeed, is somewhat singular between that close reasoning, which almost rejects the aid of ornament in his juridical labors, and that generous taste, which devotes itself with delight to the works of fiction and song.

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There being at that time no grammar school in the part of the country, where Colonel Marshall resided, his son was sent, at the age of fourteen, about a hundred miles from home, and placed under the tuition of a Mr Campbell, a clergyman of great respectability. He remained with him a year, and then returned home, and was put under the care of a Scotch gentleman, who was just introduced into the parish, as pastor, and resided in his father's family. He pursued his classical studies under this gentleman's direction, while he remained in the family, which was about a year, and at the termination of it he had commenced reading Horace and Livy. His subsequent mastery of the classics was the result of his own efforts, without any other aid than his grammar and dictionary. He never had the benefit of an education at any college, and his attainments in learning have been nursed by the solitary vigils of his own genius. His father, however, continued to superintend his English education, to cherish his love of knowledge, to give a solid cast to his acquirements, and to store his mind with the most valuable materials. He was not merely a watchful parent, but an instructive and affectionate friend, and soon became the most constant, as he was almost the only intelligent companion of his son. The time not devoted to his society was passed in hardy athletic exercises, and probably to this circumstance is owing that robust constitution, which yet seems fresh and firm in a green old age.

About the time when young Marshall entered his eighteenth year, the controversy between Great Britain and her American colonies began to assume a portentous aspect, and engaged, and indeed absorbed, the attention of all the colonists, whether they were young, or old, in private and secluded life, or in political and public bodies. He entered into it with all the zeal and enthusiasm of a youth, full of love for his country and liberty, and deeply sensible of its rights and its wrongs. He devoted much time to acquiring the first rudiments of military exercise in a voluntary independent company, composed of gentlemen of the county, to training a militia company in the neighborhood, and to reading the political essays of the day. For these animating pursuits, the preludes of public resistance, he was quite content to relinquish the classics, and the less inviting, but with reference to his future destiny, the more profitable Commentaries of Sir William Blackstone.

In the summer of 1775, he received an appointment as first

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lieutenant, in a company of minute-men enrolled for actual service, who were assembled in battalion on the first of the ensuing September. In a few days they were ordered to march into the lower country, for the purpose of defending it against a small regular and predatory force commanded by lord Dunmore. They constituted part of the troops destined for the relief of Norfolk; and Lieutenant Marshall was engaged in the battle of the Great Bridge, where the British troops, under Lord Dunmore, were repulsed with great gallantry and firmness. The way being thus opened by the retreat of the British, he marched with the provincials to Norfolk, and was present when that city was set on fire by a detachment from the British ships, then lying in the river, and afterwards when the remaining houses were burnt by orders from the committee of safety, and the place evacuated.

In July, 1776, he was appointed first lieutenant in the eleventh Virginia regiment on the continental establishment; and in the course of the succeeding winter, he marched to the north, where, in May, 1777, he was promoted to the rank of captain. He was subsequently engaged in the skirmish at Iron Hill with the light infantry, and fought in the memorable battles of Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth.

That part of the Virginia line, which was not ordered to Charleston (S. C.), being in effect dissolved by the expiration of the term of enlistment of the soldiers, the officers (among whom was Captain Marshall) were, in the winter of 1779–80, directed to return home, in order to take charge of such men as the state legislature should raise for them. It was during this season of inaction, that he availed himself of the opportunity of attending a course of law lectures given by Mr Wythe, afterwards chancellor of the state, and a course of lectures on natural philosophy, given by Mr Madison, President of William and Mary College in Virginia. He left this College in the summer vacation of 1780, and obtained a license to practise law. In October he returned to the army, and continued in service until the termination of Arnold's invasion. After this period, and before the invasion of Phillips, in February, 1781, there being a redundancy of officers in the Virginia line, he resigned his commission.

This redundancy of officers was the leading motive for his resignation, since it left him at liberty, consistently with the most scrupulous devotion to his country, to consult his own

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future prospects in life, and to favor the advancement of his companions in arms. In fact, however, he may be said to have been in service during the whole war, and to have had an ample share in the brunt of battle, and in the difficulties, discouragements, and sufferings, with which the American army was surrounded in the most gloomy of its campaigns. That he served with great distinction, and was equally remarkable for courage, intelligence, and activity, is attested by many of his fellow officers, with whom he was then, and has ever since continued to be, a favorite. We cannot refrain from inserting a paragraph on this subject, copied from a recent publication, as the testimony of an eye-witness.—'When the writer of this article first saw him,' says the sketch, 'he held the commission of captain in that regiment' (meaning the regiment on the continental establishment, commanded by his father, Colonel Marshall). 'It was in the trying, severe winter of 1777–8, a few months after the disastrous battles of Brandywine and Germantown had tested his firmness, hardihood, and heroism. The spot, where we acquired our earliest information of him, was the famous hutted encampment at Valley Forge, about thirty miles from Philadelphia. By his appearance then, we supposed him about twentytwo or twentythree years of age. Even so early in life, we recollect, that he appeared to us *primus inter pares*, for amidst the many commissioned officers he was discriminated for superior intelligence. Our informant, Colonel Ball, of another regiment in the same line, represented him as a young man, not only brave, but signally intelligent. Indeed, all those, who intimately knew him, affirmed, that his capacity was held in such estimation by many of his brother officers, that in many disputes of a certain description he was constantly chosen arbiter; and that officers, irritated by differences or animated by debate, often submitted the contested points to his judgment, which being given in writing, and accompanied, as it commonly was, by sound reasons in support of his decision, obtained general acquiescence.' Such is the testimony of a contemporary, and we have no doubt of its entire correctness.

During the invasion of Virginia, the courts of law were suspended, and were not reöpened until after the capitulation of Lord Cornwallis. Immediately after that event Mr Marshall commenced the practice of law, and soon rose into distinction at the bar. We believe, that he has been accustomed to attribute

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his early advancement, and lucrative practice to his extensive acquaintance among the officers of the army, the termination of hostilities having returned them to their families, and scattered them widely over his native state. We have no doubt that the Virginia officers took a deep interest in his favor; and the fact is honorable to their discernment, and a strong proof of his excellent qualities. And it is not improbable, that his success may have been somewhat aided by their commendation and support. But in our judgment his success was mainly owing to his own great talents and exertions. He was strictly the founder of his own fortune, in the sense of Cicero *ipse conditor totius negotii;* and the solid superstructure of his fame then rested, and now rests on the deep foundations of his own mind.

In the spring of 1782, he was elected a member of the state legislature, and in the autumn of the same year he was elected a member of the executive council. In January 1783, he married Miss Ambler, the daughter of a gentleman, who was then treasurer of the state, and to whom he had become attached before he left the army. This lady is still living to partake and to enjoy the distinguished honors of her husband. In 1784, he resigned his seat at the council board, in order to return to the bar; and he was immediately afterwards again elected a member of the legislature for the county of Fauquier, of which he was then only nominally an inhabitant, his actual residence being, as a member of the council, at Richmond. In 1787, he was elected a member from the county of Henrico, of which Richmond is the shire town; and though at that time earnestly engaged in the duties of his profession, he embarked largely in the political questions, which then agitated the state, and indeed the whole confederacy.

Every person at all read in our domestic history must recollect the dangers and difficulties of those days. The termination of the revolutionary war left the country drained of money, and impoverished and exhausted by its expenditures, and the national finances at a low state of depression. The powers of Congress under the confederation, which, even during the war, were often prostrated by the neglect of a single state to enforce them, became in the ensuing peace utterly relaxed and inefficient. Indeed, it was easy to foresee, if daily experience did not render all prophecy unnecessary, that since Congress could, under the confederation, act only by requisitions on the

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states, these requisitions could be no more than recommendations, and these recommendations could be perpetually disregarded by the states from self-interest, local jealousy, or popular prejudice. Even the wretched expedient of clothing Congress with the power of laying an impost of five per cent., to provide for the discharge of the public debts and engagements, was defeated by the obstinate refusal of a single state. So that, in fact, there was a virtual dissolution of the confederation, and Congress was left at once powerless and moneyless, without influence and without support. 'Requisitions,' says General Washington, in a letter written to Mr Jay in 1786, 'are a perfect nullity, where thirteen independent, disunited states are in the habit of discussing and refusing, or complying with them at their option. Requisitions are actually little better than a jest, and a by-word throughout the land. If you tell the legislatures they have violated the treaty of peace, and invaded the prerogatives of the confederacy, they will laugh in your face. What then is to be done? Things cannot go on in the same train for ever. It is much to be feared, as you observe, that the better kind of people, being disgusted with these circumstances, will have their minds prepared for any revolution whatever. We are apt to run from one extreme into another. To anticipate and prevent disastrous contingencies would be the part of wisdom and patriotism.' Wise and just as these reflections are, the father of his country felt, that they could have even from him very little influence. In the same letter he adds, 'nor could it be expected, that my sentiments and opinions would have much weight on the minds of my countrymen. They have been neglected, though given as a last legacy in the most solemn manner, [alluding to his circular to the governors of the states, when he was about resigning the command of the army.] I had then perhaps some claims to public attention. I consider myself as having none at present.'

Such was the melancholy foreboding of the late commander-in-chief, in respect to the country, which he had saved by his valor. In the mean time the universal poverty and distress spread dismay and dissatisfaction throughout the Union. Credit, private as well as public, was destroyed. Agriculture and commerce were crippled. The delicate relation of debtor and creditor became daily more and more embarrassed and embarrassing; and, as is usual upon such occasions, every sort of expedient was resorted to by popular leaders, as well as by men of desperate

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fortunes, to inflame the public mind, and to bring into odium those, who labored to preserve the public faith, and establish a more energetic government. The whole country was soon divided into two great parties, the one of which endeavored to put an end to the public evils by the establishment of a government over the Union, which should be adequate to all its exigencies, and act directly on the people; the other was devoted to state authority, jealous of all federal influence, and determined at every hazard to resist its constitutional increase. And notwithstanding the elaborate discussions in the general and state conventions, the powerful appeals of our wisest patriots and statesmen through the press and in private circles, and the general consciousness of our perilous situation, it is, after all, a problem more than doubtful, whether the national constitution would ever have been adopted, if Shays's rebellion in Massachusetts had not, by its sudden and alarming terrors, taught us, that we were already, not on the brink, but in the midst of a civil war,—a war, waged by licentious or distressed men against property and government of every sort,—a war, whose object it was to overthrow the administration of public justice, and to annul those laws, which guard the sacredness of private contracts.

It is almost unnecessary to say, that Mr Marshall could not remain an idle or indifferent spectator of such scenes. As little doubt could there be of the part he would take in such a contest. He was at once arrayed on the side of Washington and Madison. In Virginia, as everywhere else, the principal topics of the day were paper money, the collection of taxes, the preservation of public faith, and the administration of civil justice. The parties were nearly equally divided upon all these topics; and the contest concerning them was continually renewed. In such a state of things, every victory was but a temporary and questionable triumph, and every defeat still left enough of hope to excite to new and strenuous exertions. The affairs, too, of the confederacy were then at a crisis. The question of the continuance of the Union, or a separation of the states, was freely discussed; and, what is almost startling now to repeat, either side of it was maintained without reproach. Mr Madison was at this time, and had been for two or three years, a member of the House of Delegates, and was in fact the author of the resolution for the general convention at Philadelphia to revise the confederation. He was at all times the

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enlightened advocate of union, and of an efficient federal government, and he received on all occasions the steady support of Mr Marshall. We have often witnessed, with no ordinary emotions, the pleasure, with which both of these gentlemen look back upon their coöperation at that period, and the sentiments of profound respect, with which they habitually regard each other.

Both of them were members of the convention, subsequently called in Virginia, for the ratification of the federal constitution. This instrument, having come forth under the auspices of General Washington and other distinguished patriots of the Revolution, was at first favorably received in Virginia. But it soon encountered the decided hostility of Mr Patrick Henry, Mr George Mason, and several other gentlemen of great influence, who, with a zeal and ability worthy of a better cause, labored to disparage it, and succeeded to a high degree in exciting the prejudices of the people against it. In the legislature of Virginia it soon gave rise to very animated debates, and before the close of the session, preceding the convention, the enemies of the constitution had, by their unceasing efforts, spread disaffection and hostility to it in every direction. Its defence was uniformly and most powerfully maintained there by Mr Marshall.

The debates of the Virginia convention are in print. But we have been assured by the highest authority, that the printed volume affords but a very feeble and faint sketch of the actual debates on that occasion, or of the vigor, with which every attack was urged, and every onset repelled against the constitution. The best talents of the state were engaged in the controversy. Against the constitution were arrayed the captivating and popular eloquence of Henry, the grave sense of Mason, and the energetic zeal of Grayson. In its support were enlisted the venerable wisdom of Pendleton, the accomplished elegance of Randolph, the steady perseverance of Nicholas, the close and comprehensive logic of Marshall, and the unwearied diligence and inexhaustible knowledge of Madison. The principal debates were conducted by Henry and Madison, as leaders. But on three great occasions, namely, the debates on the power of taxation, the power over the militia, and the power of the judiciary. Mr Marshall gave free scope to his genius, and argued with a most commanding ability. We can trace, even through the dim lights reflected in the printed speeches, many of those sa-

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gacious and statesmenlike views, which have characterized his subsequent life. We see there the germs of those great constitutional principles, which he has since so largely contributed to establish, and which, if any thing can, will give immortality to this great instrument of our national liberties. Take, for instance, the following extract from his speech on the power of taxation.

'Let me pay attention to the observation of the gentleman, who was last up, that the power of taxation ought not to be given to congress. This subject requires the undivided attention of this house. This power I think essentially necessary, for without it there will be no efficiency in the government. We have had a sufficient demonstration of the vanity of depending on requisitions. How then can the general government exist without this power? The possibility of its being abused is urged, as an argument against its expediency. To very little purpose did Virginia discover the defects in the old system—to little purpose indeed did she propose improvements—and to no purpose is this plan constructed for the promotion of our happiness, if we refuse it now, because it is possible, that it may be abused. The confederation has nominal powers, but no means to carry them into effect. If a system of government were devised by more than human intelligence, it would not be effectual, if the means were not adequate to the power. All delegated powers are liable to be abused. Arguments drawn from this source go in direct opposition to every government, and in recommendation of anarchy. The friends of the constitution are as tenacious of liberty, as its enemies. They wish to to give no power, that will endanger it. They wish to give the government powers to secure and protect it. Our inquiry here must be, whether the power of taxation be necessary to perform the objects of the constitution, and whether it be safe and as well guarded as human wisdom can do it. What are the objects of the national government? To protect the United States, and to promote the general walfare. Protection in time of war is one of its principal objects. Until mankind shall cease to have ambition and avarice, wars will arise. The prosperity and happiness of the people depend on the performance of these great and important duties of the general government. Can these duties be performed by one state? Can one state protect us, and promote our happiness? The honorable gentlemen, who has gone before me (Governor *Randolph*), has shown, that Virginia cannot do these things. How then can they be done? By the national government only. Shall we refuse to give it power to do them? We are answered, that the powers may be abused; that though the

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congress may promote our happiness, yet they may prostitute their powers to destroy our liberties. This goes to the destruction of all confidence in agents. Would you believe that men, who had merited your highest confidence, would deceive you? Would you trust them again after one deception? Why then hesitate to trust the general government? The object of our inquiry is—*Is the power necessary—and is it guarded?* There must be men and money to protect us. How are armies to be raised? Must we not have money for that purpose? But the honorable gentleman says, that we need not be afraid of war. Look at history, which has been so often quoted. Look at the great volume of human nature. They will foretell you, that a defenceless country cannot be secure. The nature of man forbids us to conclude, that we are in no danger from war. The passions of men stimulate them to avail themselves of the weakness of others. The powers of Europe are jealous of us. It is our interest to watch their conduct, and guard against them. They must be pleased with our disunion. If we invite them by our weakness to attack us, will they not do it? If we add debility to our present situation, a partition of America may take place It is then necessary to give the government that power in time of peace, which the necessities of war will render indispensable, or else we shall be attacked unprepared. The experience of the world, a knowledge of human nature, and our own particular experience, will confirm this truth. When danger will come upon us, may we not do what we were on the point of doing once already, that is, appoint a dictator? Were those, who are now friends of this constitution, less active in the defence of liberty on that trying occasion, than those, who oppose it? When foreign dangers come, may not the fear of immediate destruction by foreign enemies impel us to take a most dangerous step? Where then will be our safety? We may now regulate and frame a plan, that will enable us to repel attacks, and render a recurrence to dangerous expedients unnecessary. If we be prepared to defend ourselves, there will be little inducement to attack us. But if we defer giving the necessary power to the general government, till the moment of danger arrives, we shall give it then, and with an *unsparing hand.* America, like other nations, may be exposed to war. The propriety of giving this power will be proved by the history of the world, and particularly of modern republics. I defy you to produce a single instance, where requisitions on the several individual states, composing the confederacy, have been honestly complied with. Did gentlemen expect to see such punctually complied with in America. If they did, our own experience shows the contrary.' pp. 166, 167.

And again, from his speech on the militia.

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'Mr *John Marshall* asked if gentlemen were serious, when they asserted, that if the state governments had power to interfere with the militia, it was by implication? If they were, he asked the committee, whether the least attention would not show, that they were mistaken? The state governments did not derive their powers from the general government. But each government derived its powers from the people; and each was to act according to the powers given it. Would any gentleman deny this? He demanded if powers, not given, were retained by implication? Could any man say so? Could any man say, that this power was not retained by the states, as they had not given it away? For, says he, does not a power remain till it is given away? The state legislatures had power to command and govern their militia before, and have it still, undeniably, unless there be something in this constitution, that takes it away. For continental purposes, congress may call forth the militia, as to suppress insurrections and repel invasions. But the power given to the states by the people is not taken away; for the constitution does not say so. In the confederation, congress had this power. But the state legislatures had it also. The power of legislation, given them within the ten miles square, is exclusive of the states, because it is expressed to be exclusive. The truth is, that when power is given to the general legislature, if it was in the state legislatures before, both shall exercise it; unless there be an incompatibility in the exercise by one, to that by the other; or negative words precluding the state governments from it. But there are no negative words here. It rests therefore with the states. To me it appears then unquestionable, that the state governments can call forth the militia, in case the constitution should be adopted, in the same manner, as they could have done before its adoption. Gentlemen have said, that the states cannot defend themselves without an application to congress, because congress can interpose! Does not every man feel a refutation of the arguments in his own breast? I will show, that there could not be a combination between those who formed the constitution, to take away this power. All the restraints intended to be laid on the state governments (besides where an exclusive power is expressly given to Congress) are contained in the tenth section of the first article. This power is not included in the restrictions in that section. But what excludes every possibility of doubt, is the last part of it; that "no state shall engage in war, *unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger, as will not admit of delay.*" When invaded, they can engage in war; as also when in imminent danger. This clearly proves, that the states can use the militia, when they find it necessary. The worthy member last up objects to the continental government possessing the power of disciplining

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the militia, because, though all its branches be derived from the people, he says, they will form an aristocratic government, unsafe and unfit to be trusted.

'Mr *Grayson* answered, that he only said it was so constructed, as to form a great aristocratic body.

'Mr *Marshall* replied, that he was not certain whether he understood him; but he thought he had said so. He conceived, that as the government was drawn from the people, the feelings and interests of the people would be attended to, and that we should be safe in granting them power to regulate the militia. When the government is drawn from the people, continued Mr Marshall, and depending on the people for its continuance, oppressive measures will not be attempted, as they will certainly draw on their authors the resentment of those on whom they depend. On this government, thus depending on ourselves for its existence, I will rest my safety, notwithstanding the danger depicted by the honorable gentleman. I cannot help being surprised, that the worthy member thought this power so dangerous. What government is able to protect you in time of war? Will any state depend on its own exertions? The consequence of such dependence and withholding this power from Congress will be, that state will fall after state, and be a sacrifice to the want of power in the general government. *United we are strong, divided we fall.* Will you prevent the general government from drawing the militia of one state to another, when the consequence would be, that every state must depend on itself? The enemy, possessing the water, can go quickly from one state to another. No state will spare to another its militia, which it conceives necessary for itself. It requires a superintending power, in order to call forth the resources of all to protect all. If this be not done, each state will fall a sacrifice. This system merits the highest applause in this respect.' pp. 297—299.

It is very difficult for the present generation to conceive the magnitude of the dangers, to which we were then exposed, or to realize the extent of the obstacles, which were opposed to the adoption of the constitution. Notwithstanding all the sufferings of the people, the acknowledged imbecility of the government, and the almost desperate state of our public affairs, there were men of high character, and patriots too, who clung to the old confederation with an enthusiastic attachment, and saw in the grant of any new powers, indeed of any powers to a national government, nothing but oppression and tyranny,—slavery of the people and destruction of the state governments on the one hand, and universal despotism and overwhelming

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taxation on the other. Time, the great umpire and final judge of these questions, has indeed now abundantly shown, how vain were the fears, and how unsound the principles of the opponents of the constitution. The prophecies of its friends have been abundantly fulfilled in the growth and solid prosperity of their country, far indeed beyond their most sanguine expectations. But our gratitude can never be too warm to those eminent men, who stemmed the torrent of public prejudice, and with a wisdom and prudence, almost surpassing human power, laid the foundations of that government, which saved us at the hour, when we were ready to perish. After twentyfive days of ardent and eloquent discussion, to which justice never has been, and never can now be done, (during which nine states adopted the constitution) the question was carried in its favor in the convention of Virginia by a majority of ten votes only. Mr Henry lived long enough to acknowledge in its practical operations the sincerest pleasure, to admit his own mistakes, and to give it his sincere support. But such has not been the general result of the contest in Virginia. On the contrary, the principles then avowed by the opposition, and maintained with so much zeal, have sunk deep into the minds of those, who have since guided her public councils. And it may now be said without the suspicion of political reproach, that Virginia has throughout almost all the intermediate period controverted the powers of the general government with unceasing vigilance, and stood forth the steady and jealous advocate of state rights.

To those, indeed, who are well acquainted with the political feelings in Virginia at the period, of which we have been speaking, it may be matter of surprise, that Mr Marshall was returned a member of the convention, for the county in which he resided was then (to use the language, which distinguished the parties) decidedly antifederal. But party spirit had not become so bitter and unrelenting, as to extinguish the courtesies of private life, or to overcome those strong affections, which public services, ardent patriotism, and high talents naturally excite In several of the counties most opposed to the constitution, individuals of commanding influence and character, who were its known advocates, were chosen delegates from mere personal motives and attachments.

The adoption of the constitution of the United States having been thus secured, Mr Marshall immediately formed the determination to relinquish public life, and to devote himself to the

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arduous duties of his profession. To this determination he was led by very pressing considerations. His fortune was not yet made; his practice had become extensive; his sacrifices had already been considerable. To maintain a high standing in the legislature, proportionate to his talents and character, would require so much time, that it would essentially trench upon other pursuits. To yield up his profession as a secondary object, would be to subject himself to a voluntary dependence for life. His friends were exceedingly anxious, that he should be a candidate for Congress, so that he might assist in the first organization of the government. And notwithstanding the district was antifederal, such was his personal popularity, that no doubt existed of his success. He listened, however, to the dictates of prudence, and voluntarily retired from a station, where an honorable ambition, like his, could not have failed to have reaped an ample reward of fame.

A man of his eminence could however with very great difficulty adhere rigidly to his original resolve. The state legislature having, in December 1788, passed an act allowing a representative to the city of Richmond, Mr Marshall was almost unanimously invited to become a candidate. No doubt could exist in respect to his return, for the city was federal. With considerable reluctance he yielded to the public wishes, being principally influenced in his acceptance of the station by the increasing hostility manifested in the state against the national government, and his own anxious desire to give the latter his decided and public support. He continued in the legislature, as a representative of Richmond for the years 1789, 1790, and 1791. During this period every important measure of the national government was discussed in the state legislature with great freedom and no inconsiderable acrimony. In particular, the funding system was attacked and censured in strong terms, and that part of it especially, which assumed the state debts, was pronounced unconstitutional. Thus early did Virginia avow the doctrines, which have so distinctly marked her subsequent course, and insist upon the closest abridgment of the national powers. On these occasions Mr Marshall vindicated the national government with a manly and zealous independence.

After the termination of the session of the legislature, in 1791, Mr Marshall voluntarily retired. But the events, which soon afterwards occurred in Europe, and extended a most awakening influence to America, did not long permit him to devote

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himself to professional pursuits. The French Revolution in its early dawn was hailed with universal enthusiasm in America. In its progress for a considerable period it continued to maintain among us an almost unanimous approbation. Many causes conduced to this result. Our partiality for France, from a grateful recollection of her services in our own revolutionary contest, was ardent and undisguised. It was heightened by the consideration, that she was herself now engaged in a struggle for liberty, and was endeavoring to shake off oppressions, under which she had been groaning for centuries. The monarchs in Europe were combined in a mighty league for the suppression of this new and alarming insurrection against the claims of legitimacy. It was not difficult to forsee, that if they were successful in this enterprise, we ourselves had but a questionable security for our own independence. It would be natural for them, after having completed their European conquests, to cast their eyes to the origin of the evil, and to feel, that their dynasties were not quite safe, even though the Atlantic rolled between us and them, while a living example of liberty, so seductive and so striking, remained in the western hemisphere.

Nor was our danger wholly imaginary. It is hardly possible, at this distance of time, to look back without a deep feeling, that the feebleness of our national government, the deficiency of revenue and resources, the discontents at home, the internal jealousies which distracted the states, and the want of any firm public credit, exposed us to serious difficulties. If our safety was to depend upon the mere sense of moderation of the crowned heads of Europe, flushed with their recent triumph over the political liberty of France, it must be admitted, that it was somewhat shadowy and unsubstantial. In case of any combined invasion or systematic attack, we were embarrassed on one side with local divisions, and on the other with the discouraging fact, that the armies, which had achieved our independence, had the most lively and well-founded recollections of the past ingratitude of their country. Under such circumstances, the opinion was almost universal and instantaneous, that our own liberty was essentially connected with the success of France; and patriots and statesmen, the young and the old, the contemplative and the active, gave way to feelings of unbounded exultation at every defeat of her enemies, and of admiration at the heroic deeds of her children. It may be

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truly said, that the government itself partook largely of the general interest, and did not hesitate to express it in any manner not incompatible with the strict performance of the duties of neutrality. Mr Marshall was as warmly attached to the cause of France, as any of his considerate countrymen.

After the death of Louis the Sixteenth, feelings of a different sort began to mix themselves, not only in the public councils, but in private life. Those, whose reflections reached beyond the events of the day, began to entertain fears, lest in our enthusiasm for the cause of France, we might be plunged into war, and thus jeopard our own vital interests. The task of preserving neutrality was of itself sufficiently difficult, when the mass of the people was put in motion by the cheering sounds of liberty and equality, which were wafted on every breeze across the Atlantic. The duty, however, was imperative; and the administration determined to perform it with the most guarded good faith. In the mean time the arrival of M. Genet, as Minister from the Republic of France, created throughout the continent a great sensation. He was every where received with acclamations on his journey from South Carolina to Philadelphia; and even before he was accredited by the government, he undertook to authorize the armament of vessels in our ports, and to enlist men and grant commissions for hostilities against nations, with which we were at peace. It was soon perceived, that taking advantage of the general enthusiasm, he was beginning to intrude himself between the government and the people; to make the latter the instruments of overthrowing the administration; and thus to precipitate us into the war. Such conduct roused the attention of all America, and taught our ablest statesmen the necessity of immediate resistance. No one, who truly loved his country, could be insensible of the danger of permitting any foreign minister to mingle in the management of our domestic affairs; or of the calamitous results of abandoning our neutrality. One of the earliest meetings, called to express the public sentiments on this subject, was in the city of Richmond; and on that occasion, resolutions were passed, expressing a strong disapprobation of the irregular conduct of M. Genet, a deep sense of the danger of foreign influence, and a warm approbation of the President's proclamation of neutrality. These resolutions, and the address to the President, which accompanied them, were drawn up and supported by Mr Marshall, and carried by his strenuous exertions.

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The great political parties, which for so many years afterwards divided the country, began about this period to assume a more distinct form, and to acquire a more unequivocal character. Hitherto the struggle had been principally confined to domestic concerns; to federal and antifederal measures; on the one side to building up and cherishing a system, which should strengthen the union and give vigor to its councils, and on the other side to resisting every approximation to a diminution of state influence. But now the contest took a wider range, and foreign politics first engaged, and soon absorbed the whole attention of the people. Many ardent votaries of liberty clung with an animated devotion to the cause of France through all her various fortunes; and felt, that even her encroachments upon our own rights were not without apology, and though not justifiable, were not to be openly resented. The administration and its friends acted upon other principles; and though not insensible to the value of the friendship of France, they saw much in her conduct, which required resistance, and much in the conduct of other nations, and particularly of Great Britain, which demanded, if we meant to preserve peace, a sober consideration of our own interests. Great Britain yielded to our remonstrances, and finally consented to indemnify us for our national injuries. The policy of France was manifestly to detach us from our neutral position; and every approach on our part to conciliation with the British government was watched by her with jealousy; and her jealousy soon spread with increased force among her friends in America. In short, for it is now matter of history, and we are at liberty to deal with it as such, the parties soon became distinguished as the friends of France, and the enemies of France, or the friends of England, and the enemies of England, in the partisan vocabulary of the day.

The decided part taken by Mr Marshall could not long remain unnoticed. His constant effort upon all occasions was to show, that the conduct of our government in its foreign relations was such as a just self-respect and a regard to our rights, as a sovereign nation, rendered indispensable; and that our independence was brought into real danger by the overgrown and inordinate influence of France. He was of course exposed to severe public animadversions, and felt in its full force the weight of those political resentments, which the known attachment of Virginia to the cause of France must inevitably

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create. He was attacked with great asperity in the newspapers and pamphlets of the day, and designated, by way of significant reproach, as the coadjutor and friend of Alexander Hamilton. The name of this great man almost tempts us to pass aside for a moment to pay a just tribute to his exalted patriotism, talents, and public virtues. The lapse of more than twenty years since his lamented death has buried those animosities, which for a time obscured the brilliant lustre of his fame. But we must forbear. To have been the friend and coadjutor of Hamilton would now make many a heart beat with lofty pride; to have been his distinguished friend and coadjutor would now be deemed by the whole nation no mean title of praise.

Against these attacks Mr Marshall defended himself with a zeal and ability, proportioned to his own sincere devotion to the cause which he espoused. He soon found himself compelled to assume the character of an acknowledged leader of the federal party in Virginia, and from necessity or choice to change his determination as to public life; and he began to hesitate, whether he ought not immediately to reënter the legislature. While he was yet pausing, an event unexpectedly occurred, which decided his future course. The spring elections for the state legislature in the year 1795 came on. Mr Marshall was not a candidate, but he was nevertheless chosen under somewhat peculiar circumstances. From the time of his withdrawing from the legislature two opposing candidates had divided the city of Richmond; the one, his intimate friend, and holding the same political sentiments with himself; the other, a most zealous partisan of the opposition. Each election between these gentlemen, who were both popular, had been decided by a small majority, and the approaching contest was entirely doubtful. Mr Marshall attended the polls at an early hour, and gave his vote for his friend. While at the polls, a gentleman demanded, that a poll should be opened for Mr Marshall. The latter was greatly surprised at the proposal, and unhesitatingly expressed his dissent, declaring, that his wishes and feelings and honor were engaged for one of the candidates. At the same time, he announced his willingness to become a candidate the next year. He retired from the polls, and immediately gave his attendance to the business of one of the courts, which was then in session. A poll was, however, opened for him in his absence by the gentleman who first suggested it, notwithstanding his positive refusal. The

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election was suspended for a few minutes; a consultation took place among the freeholders; they determined to support him; and in the evening he received the information of his election. A more honorable tribute to his merits could not have been paid; and his election was a most important and timely measure in favor of the administration.

It will be recollected, that the treaty with Great Britain, negotiated by Mr Jay in 1794, was the subject of universal discussion at this period. No sooner was its ratification advised by the Senate, than public meetings were called in all our principal cities, for the purpose of inducing the President to withhold his ratification, and if this object were not attained, then to prevent in Congress the passage of the appropriations necessary to carry it into effect. The first movement took place in Boston, and the excitement, there produced, spread through the country with astonishing rapidity and increased violence. The history of the country scarcely furnishes an example so full of melancholy instruction, as this, to illustrate the intoxicating influence of party spirit. There probably never was any measure of President Washington's administration, which admitted of a more complete vindication for its sound policy, its justice, and its advancement of the real interests of the nation. Yet it was assailed with the most unmeasured reproaches; it was denounced in public resolutions and anonymous pamphlets; in newspaper essays and political addresses; in the grave debates of legislative assemblies, and the vehement harangues of popular orators. The topics of animadversion were not confined to the expediency of the treaty in its principal provisions, but the bolder ground was assumed, that the negotiation of a commercial treaty by the Executive was an unconstitutional act, and an infringement of the power given to Congress to regulate commerce. Mr Marshall took an active part in the discussions upon the treaty. Feeling, that the ratification of it was indispensable to the preservation of peace, that its main provisions were essentially beneficial to the United States, and comported with its true dignity and interests, he addressed himself with the most diligent attention to an examination of the nature and extent of all its provisions, and of all the objections urged against it. No state in the Union exhibated a more intense hostility to it than Virginia, upon the points both of expediency and constitutionality; and in no state were the objections urged with more impassioned and unsparing

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earnestness. The task, therefore, of meeting and overthrowing them was of no ordinary magnitude, and required all the resources of the ablest mind. Mr Marshall came to the task with a thorough mastery of every topic connected with it. At a public meeting of the citizens of Richmond he carried a series of resolutions, approving the conduct of the Executive.

But a more difficult and delicate duty remained to be performed. It was easy to foresee, that the controversy would soon find its way from the public forum into the legislative bodies; and would be there renewed with the bitter animosity of party spirit. Indeed, so unpopular was the treaty in Virginia, that Mr Marshall's friends were exceedingly solicitous, that he should avoid engaging in any debate in the legislature on the subject, as it would be a sacrifice of the remains of his well deserved popularity; and it might be even questioned, if he could there deliver his sentiments without exposure to some rude attacks. His answer to all such suggestions was uniform; that he should not move any measure to excite a debate; but if the subject were brought forward by others, he should, at every hazard, vindicate the administration, and assert his own opinions. He was incapable of shrinking from a just expression of his own independence. The subject was soon introduced by his political opponents, and the constitutional objections were urged with triumphant confidence. That particularly, which denied the constitutional right of the Executive to conclude a commercial treaty, was selected and insisted on, as a favorite and unanswerable position. The speech of Mr Marshall on this occasion has been always represented, as one of the noblest efforts of his genius. His vast powers of reasoning were employed with the most gratifying success. He demonstrated not only from the words of the Constitution, and the universal practice of nations, that a commercial treaty was within the constitutional powers of the Executive, but that this opinion had been maintained and sanctioned by Mr Jefferson, by the whole Delegation of Virginia in Congress, and by the leading members in the Convention on both sides. His argument was decisive; the constitutional ground was abandoned; and the resolutions of the Assembly were confined to a simple disapprobation of the treaty in point of expediency.

The constitutional objections were again urged in Congress in the celebrated debate on the British Treaty, in the spring of 1796; and there finally assumed the mitigated shape of a right

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claimed on the part of Congress to grant or withhold appropriations to carry treaties into effect. The higher ground, that commercial treaties were not, when ratified, the supreme law of the land, was abandoned; and the subsequent practice of the government has, without question, under every administration conformed to the construction vindicated by Mr Marshall. The fame of this admirable argument spread through the Union. Even with his political enemies, it enhanced the elevation of his character; and it brought him at once to the notice of some of the most eminent statesmen, who then graced our public councils. In the winter of 1796, he attended the Supreme Court of the United States at Philadelphia, and argued the great cause of Ware *vs.* Hylton, involving the question of the operation of the British treaty upon the antecedent confiscations of British debts. On this occasion he formed an acquaintance with some of the most distinguished members of Congress from the eastern and middle states, and particularly with Mr Cabot, Mr Ames, and Mr Dexter of Massachusetts, Mr Wadsworth of Connecticut, and Mr Rufus King of New York. He was received with the most flattering distinction, and with some of these gentlemen he then commenced a friendship, which terminated only with their lives.

About this period President Washington invited Mr Marshall to accept the office of Attorney General; but he declined it, upon the ground of its interference with his lucrative practice in Virginia. He continued in the state legislature, but did not, from his other engagements, take an active part in the ordinary business. He confined his attention principally to those questions, which involved the main interests of the country, and brought into discussion the policy and the principles of the national parties. An occasion occurred, however, for the utmost exertion of his eloquence in a debate, which took place (we believe) in the winter session of 1796–7, and called forth all the strength of the opposition. Some federalist moved a resolution, expressive of the high confidence of the house in the virtue, patriotism, and *wisdom* of the president of the United States. A motion was made to strike out the word '*wisdom.*' A very animated debate ensued, in which the whole course of his administration was reviewed, and all the talents of each party were exerted to assail, or to vindicate it. Mr Marshall, as might be expected, maintained himself with his accustomed vigor. But after every exertion the

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word was retained by a very small majority. It is indeed a painful and humiliating thought, that a small majority only could be found at that time in the legislature of his native state, willing to acknowledge the *wisdom* of General Washington!

Upon the recall of Mr Monroe as Minister from France, President Washington solicited Mr Marshall to accept the appointment as his successor. He respectfully declined it in a letter, which is now before us. 'Were it possible,' said he, 'for me in the present crisis of my affairs to leave the United States, such is my conviction of the importance of that duty, which you would confide to me, and pardon me, if I add, of the fidelity, with which I should attempt to perform it, that I would certainly forego any consideration, not decisive with respect to my future fortunes, and would surmount that just diffidence, I have ever entertained of myself, to make one effort to convey truly and faithfully to the government of France those sentiments, which I have ever believed to be entertained by that of the United States.' General Pinckney of South Carolina, as is well known, was appointed in his stead. Indeed, Mr Marshall's situation at the bar was so high, and so independent, that in point of honor it seemed little inferior to any office in the gift of the government. He had a strong predilection for the practice of the law, and felt the most unfeigned reluctance to quit it. The arrangements, also, consequent upon his purchase of a large and very valuable estate (to which allusion is made in the preceding letter), were of such a nature, as demanded his personal presence and coöperation. However gratifying to his ambition the high appointment of Minister to France must have been, the sacrifices and inconveniences, which would accompany it, might well induce even a more ardent and less occupied mind, to hesitate in accepting it.

Mr Marshall was not, however, long permitted to act upon his own judgment and choice. The French government refused to receive General Pinckney, as Minister from the United States; and the administration, being sincerely anxious to exhaust every measure of conciliation, not incompatible with the national dignity, for the preservation of peace, resorted to the extraordinary measure of sending a commission of three Envoys. Within a year from the time of the first offer, Mr Adams, having succeeded to the presidency, appointed Mr Marshall one of these Envoys in conjunction with General Pinckney and Mr Gerry. This was a new and embarrassing

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exigency for Mr Marshall. All the reasons for declining the former appointment remained in full force; but they were met by other considerations growing out of the posture of our public affairs. The crisis was very alarming; the hope of a successful mission was not wholly uninviting; and the dangers of war, formidable to us at all times, in the divided state of the country were assuming a most unpleasant aspect. These considerations seemed to demand from a patriot and statesman some sacrifices to public duty.

Mr Marshall also could not be insensible, that the country confidently expected much from his known moderation, firmness, and prudence. He was perfect master of the whole controversy with France, and felt the deepest interest in its issue. He had the most unwavering belief, that our government anxiously desired an amicable adjustment of all our difficulties. He knew, that he should come to the negotiation breathing the spirit of conciliation, and with the most sincere wishes to accomplish a permanent and honorable peace. Nor could he fail to indulge the grateful anticipation, that if the mission were crowned with success, it would be a glorious discharge of public duty, and bring with it a solid increase of reputation. If, on the other hand, the mission were unsuccessful, being but of a temporary nature, it would not withdraw him for a long period from his professional pursuits; and would leave him the consolation, that he had not shrunk from fidelity to his country in her hour of difficulty.

After some hesitation, Mr Marshall accepted the appointment, and soon afterward embarked for Amsterdam. On his arrival at the Hague he met General Pinckney, and having received passports they proceeded to Paris. The mission was unsuccessful; the envoys were never accredited by the French government, and Mr Marshall returned to America in the summer of 1798.

It is not within the design of this sketch to enter into a full examination of the merits of this negotiation, so honorable to our own country, and, in our judgment, so disgraceful to France. The whole of the proceedings were laid before Congress by President Adams, and are now to be found among the printed state papers. Although General Pinckney was placed with great propriety at the head of the commission, and it is but a small tribute to his memory to declare, that he was a man of fine sense, and high and almost chivalric honor; yet the truth of

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history requires it to be stated, that upon Mr Marshall principally devolved the duty of preparing the official despatches. They have been universally attributed to his pen, and are models of skilful reasoning, forcible illustration, accurate detail, and urbane and dignified moderation. In the annals of our diplomacy there are no papers, upon which an American can look back with more unmixed pride and pleasure. When they were first published, they created an astonishing excitement throughout the whole continent; and the public feeling was roused to the highest point of indignation at our wrongs and the gross insults offered to the nation in the persons of its Envoys. The fame of Mr Marshall received new lustre from his conduct on this occasion; and upon his return home he was received with enthusiastic demonstrations of respect, and immediately solicited to resume public life and become a candidate for Congress. During his absence he kept a journal of his diplomatic transactions, which we presume he still possesses; and we have seen letters addressed by him to General Washington, full of that wisdom, patriotism, and sound discernment, which formed the essential characteristics of both. At some future time we trust they will belong to the public.

The opinion of General Washington always had great influence with Mr Marshall, and to have been distinguished by him as a friend could not but be a flattering, perhaps the most flattering proof of merit. Mr Marshall on his return home found, that he had sustained no loss by a diminution of professional business, and looked forward to a resumption of his labors with higher hopes. He peremptorily refused for a considerable time to become a candidate for Congress, and avowed his determination to remain at the bar. At this juncture he was invited by General Washington to pass a few days at Mount Vernon; and having accepted the invitation, he went there in in company with Mr Justice Washington, the nephew of General Washington, and now a highly distinguished Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States.

What took place upon that occasion, we happen to have the good fortune to know from an authentic source. General Washington did not for a moment disguise the object of his invitation; it was to urge upon Mr Marshall and Mr Washington the propriety of their becoming candidates for Congress. Mr Washington yielded to the wishes of his uncle without a struggle. But Mr Marshall resisted on the ground of his situation,

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and the necessity of attending to his private affairs. The reply of General Washington to these suggestions will never be forgotten by those, who heard it. It breathed the spirit of the loftiest virtue and patriotism. He said, that there were crises in national affairs, which made it the duty of a citizen to forego his private for the public interest. He considered the country to be then in one of these. He detailed his opinions freely on the nature of the controversy with France, and expressed his conviction, that the best interests of America depended upon the character of the ensuing Congress. He adverted to his own situation. He had retired from the Executive Department with the firmest determination never again to appear in a public capacity. He had communicated this determination to the public, and his motives for it were too strong not to be well understood. Yet he was now pledged to appear once more at the head of the American army; and from this circumstance it must be evident, what were his own convictions of the duty imposed upon every citizen by the state of American affairs. The conversation was long and animated and impressive, full of the deepest interest, and the most unreserved confidence. The exhortation of General Washington had its effect. Mr Marshall yielded to his representations, and became a candidate, and was, after an ardent contest, elected, and took his seat in Congress in December, 1799. While he was yet a candidate, he was offered a seat on the bench of the Supreme Court, then vacant by the death of Mr Justice Iredell. Upon his declining it President Adams appointed Mr Justice Washington, who was thus prevented from becoming a member of Congress.

The session of Congress in the winter of 1799–1800 will for ever be memorable in the annals of America. Men of the highest talents and most commanding influence in the Union were there assembled, and arrayed with all the hostility of party spirit, and all the zeal of conscious responsibility, against each other. Every important measure of the administration was subjected to the most scrutinizing criticism; and was vindicated with a warmth proportionate to the ability of the attack. Mr Marshall took an active part in the debates, and on one occasion distinguished himself in a manner, which will not easily be forgotten. We refer to the debate on the resolutions of Mr Edward Livingston, then a member from New York, relative to the case of Thomas Nash *alias* Jonathan Robbins. The

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facts were, that a murder had been committed on board the British frigate, Hermione, on the high seas, and Nash, who had sought an asylum in the United States, was accused of being one of the murderers. The twenty-seventh article of the British treaty of 1794 provided, that the respective governments of Great Britain and the United States should, on mutual requisitions by their ministers, deliver up to justice all persons, who being charged with murder or forgery within the jurisdiction of either, should seek an asylum within any of the countries of the other, upon such evidence of criminality, as, according to the laws of the place, where the person or fugitive so charged should be found, would justify his apprehension, and a commitment for trial, if the offence had been there committed. The British minister applied to the Executive for the delivery of Nash according to the stipulation of the treaty. Nash was arrested in South Carolina, and was brought before the District Judge in that state by a writ of *habeas corpus*, and the President signified to him his wish, that if the evidence warranted, the prisoner should be delivered over to the British minister. Upon a full hearing the District Judge was satisfied, that the proofs were sufficient, and delivered up the prisoner to the British authorities, by whom he was sent to Jamaica. The prisoner was there upon trial convicted of the offence, and suffered the punishment of death accordingly.

Nash, upon his examination before the District Judge, made affidavit of his being an American citizen, born in Danbury, Connecticut, and that he was an impressed seaman. The conduct of the Executive on this occasion was the subject of much harsh animadversion in the newspapers; and in South Carolina, in particular, the propriety of the proceeding was denied in a public letter, acknowledged to have been written by Mr Charles Pinckney, then a Senator in Congress from that state. The object of Mr Livingston's resolution was to procure a vote of censure of the Executive proceedings, as utterly destitute of legal authority. It may be easily imagined, that, smarting as the nation was under the odious exercise of impressment by British officers, the circumstances alleged by Nash were well calculated to inflame the public resentment, and to produce a strong popular feeling in his favor. It is now understood, that in point of fact he was a British subject, and not born in America. The resolutions were supported by Mr Livingston, Mr Gallatin, and other distinguished gentlemen;

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they were opposed by Mr Bayard, Mr Marshall, and others. The speech of Mr Marshall on that occasion has been preserved.* It is a most profound and admirable argument, and in the most conclusive manner establishes the propositions, that the case was within the provision of the treaty; that it was proper for executive, and not for judicial decision; and that in deciding it, the President was not chargeable with any interference with judicial duties. So complete was the demonstration, that it put the question at rest for ever. The speech was perfectly overwhelming; and like the celebrated letter of the Duke of Newcastle on the Prussian Memorial, it may be characterized, in the language attributed to Montesquieu, as a '*réponse sans réplique.*' We have often heard an anecdote, for the truth of which we cannot however vouch, that a celebrated statesman, then in the opposition in Congress, was requested to answer it, and upon declining the task, said he must leave it to others; for himself, he deemed it unanswerable.†

In May, 1800, Mr Marshall was, without the slightest personal communication, nominated by the President to the office of Secretary of War, upon the dismissal of Mr McHenry. We believe, that the first information received of it by Mr Marshall was at the department itself, where he went to transact some business previous to his return to Virginia. He immediately wrote a letter, requesting the nomination to be withdrawn by the President. It was not, and his appointment was confirmed by the Senate. The rupture between the President and Colonel Pickering, who was then Secretary of State, soon afterwards occurred, and Mr Marshall was appointed his successor. This was indeed an appointment in every view most honorable to his merits, and for which he was in the highest degree qualified. Yet he had great difficulties in accepting it; and his final determination to accept it was mainly influenced by the same motive, which induced him to surrender his practice at the bar for a seat in Congress, a deep sense of public duty. The circumstances, under which he took the office, were not without embarrassment. The late cabinet had been dissolved in a manner, which left room for the indulgence of some person-

* It will be found reprinted in the Appendix to the fifth volume of Wheaton's Reports.

† The resolutions were lost by a vote of 61 against 35, some of the anti-administration party voting against them.

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al resentments, if not recriminations; and the warm attachment, which Mr Marshall at all times evinced for President Adams, would naturally excite some coolness in those, who were then alienated from him. He had, however, the satisfaction soon to find himself upon the most cordial terms with all the Cabinet, and in the full possession of the unlimited confidence of the public.

Upon the resignation of Mr Chief Justice Ellsworth, a good deal of public anxiety was expressed respecting his successor. The friends of Mr Justice Patterson, who was certainly an eminent Judge, indulged the hope, that he would be nominated to the office. When the President consulted the Secretary of State on this subject, the latter unhesitatingly recommended Mr Patterson. The President, however, had an insuperable objection to the nomination, assigning as a reason, that he could not make it without wounding the feelings of Mr Justice Cushing, who was an old friend, and the senior Judge on the bench. He nominated Mr Jay, who declined; and as soon as that fact was known, the President, with unusual promptitude and decision, nominated Mr Marshall. The nomination was confirmed by the Senate, and Mr Marshall, on the 31st day of January, 1801, became Chief Justice of the United States, and has continued ever since that period to fill the office with increasing reputation and unsullied dignity. The wisdom of this choice, whatever might have been the disappointment or partiality of the friends of other candidates, has been fully established by the event. The sagacity and independence of President Adams, that intuitive perception of character, and comprehensiveness of observation, almost amounting to prophecy, which were so prominent traits in his mind, never were unfolded in a more imposing form. There is probably not a reflecting man in America of any party, or any fragment of any party, who would not now cheerfully admit, that the highest judicial honors could not have fallen on any one, who could have sustained them with more solid advantage to the glory or interests of the country.

Splendid, indeed, as has been the judicial career of this eminent man, it is scarcely possible, that the extent of his labors, the vigor of his intellect, or the untiring accuracy of his learning should be duly estimated, except by the profession, of which he is so great an ornament. Questions of law rarely assume a cast, which introduces them to extensive public no-

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tice; and those, which require the highest faculties of mind to master and expound, are commonly so intricate and remote from the ordinary pursuits of life, that the generality of readers do not bring to the examination of them the knowledge necessary to comprehend them, or the curiosity, which imparts a relish and flavor to them. For the most part, therefore, the reputation of judges is confined to the narrow limits, which embrace the votaries of jurisprudence; and many of those exquisite judgments, which have cost days and nights of the most elaborate study, and for power of thought, beauty of illustration, variety of learning, and elegant demonstration, are justly numbered among the highest reaches of the human mind, find no admiration beyond the ranks of lawyers, and live only in the dusty repositories of their oracles. The fame of the warrior is for ever embodied in the history of his country, and is colored with the warm lights reflected back by the praise of many a distant age. The orator and the stateman live not merely in the recollections of their powerful eloquence, or the deep impressions made by them on the character of the generation in which they lived, but are brought forth for public approbation in political debates, in splendid volumes, in collegiate declamations, in the works of rhetoricians, in the school-books of boys, and in the elegant extracts of maturer life. Not to go back to the ancients, the speeches of Chatham, and Burke, and Sheridan, and Pitt, and Fox, and Grattan, will be familiar to the ears, and uttered by the voices of thousands, who never heard of the gigantic learning of Coke, the commanding judgment of Holt, the infinitely varied professional attainments of Hardwicke, the felicitous and convincing genius of Mansfield, the cautious and unerring sagacity of Eldon, the almost preternatural union of judicial eloquence, exquisite diction, and sound principles in Stowell; or, to name a few among the illustrious living and dead of our own country, the unostentatious but vigorous sense of Tilghman, the profound and acute discernment of Parsons, or the exhausting diligence and polished strength of Kent.

We shall not attempt, on this occasion, to enter upon a minute survey of the official labors of Chief Justice Marshall. However instructive or interesting such a course might be to the profession, the considerations already adverted to sufficiently admonish us, that it would not be very welcome to the mass of other readers. But there is one class of cases, which

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ought not to be overlooked, because it comes home to the business and bosom of every citizen of this country, and is felt in every gradation of life from the chief magistrate down to the inmate of the cottage. We allude to the grave discussions of constitutional law, which during his time have attracted so much of the talents of the bar in the Supreme Court, and sometimes agitated the whole nation. If all others of the Chief Justice's juridical arguments had perished, his luminous judgments on these occasions would have given an enviable immortality to his name.

There is in the discharge of this delicate and important duty, which is peculiar to our institutions, a moral grandeur and interest, which it is not easy to over-estimate either in a political or civil view. In no other country on earth are the acts of the legislature liable to be called in question, and even set aside, if they do not conform to the standard of the constitution. Even in England, where the principles of civil liberty are cherished with uncommon ardor, and private justice is administered with a pure and elevated independence, the acts of Parliament are, by the very theory of the government, in a legal sense omnipotent. They cannot be gainsaid or overruled. They form the law of the land, which controls the prerogative and even the descent of the crown itself, and may take away the life and property of the subject without trial and without appeal. The only security is in the moderation of Parliament itself, and representative responsibility. The case is far otherwise in America. The state and national constitutions form the *supreme law* of the land, and the judges are sworn to maintain these charters of liberty, or rather these special delegations of power by the people (who in our governments are alone the depositaries of supreme authority and sovereignty), in their original vigor and true intendment. It matters not, how popular a statute may be, or how commanding the majority by which it has been enacted; it must stand the test of the constitution, or it falls. The humblest citizen may question its constitutionality; and its final fate must be settled upon grave argument and debate by the judges of the land.

Nor is this the mere theory of the constitution. It is a function, which has been often performed; and not a few acts of state as well as of national legislation, have been brought to this severe scrutiny; and after the fullest consideration, some have been pronounced to be void, because they were unconstitu-

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tional. And these judgments have been acquiesced in, and obeyed, even when they were highly offensive to the pride and sovereignty of the state itself, or affected private and public interests to an incalculable extent.

Such, in America, is the majesty of the law. Such is the homage of a free people to the institutions, created by themselves. Such is the consciousness of every citizen, that he holds his life, his liberty, and his property by the judgment of his peers, and the sovereignty of the constitution. What, after all, is the most wonderful in this political machinery, is the simplicity of its structure, and the ease of its operation. A foreigner would suppose, that the accomplishment of such mighty effects would require the aid of every sort of external means of influence to guard it, and ensure its success. He would imagine, that the functionaries of such duties must have the advantages of noble birth, of hereditary right, of great wealth, of extensive patronage, and of the command of military resources. How great would be his surprise to learn, that the judges, who are to decide these questions in the last resort, are few in number, rarely wealthy, with moderate salaries, with no patronage beyond the poor appointment of the clerk of their own courts, with no array of military force, living unostentatiously among their fellow-citizens, and having no means of influence beyond what their talents and public services and private virtues might command in any other station. Yet they perform the duty fearlessly and independently, and often under circumstances of the most painful and trying responsibility, in the midst of popular prejudices, party triumphs, state strifes, and national dissatisfactions. We speak here, not particularly of the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States; but also of the judges of the highest state courts in the Union. The whole power possessed by all or any of them extends not, for any practical purpose, beyond a mere naked moral power, the power of solid reasoning, just exposition, and sober appeal to the good sense of honest and intelligent minds. Their strength is in their arguments; and they speak a law, which is obeyed, and followed, and respected, simply because the profession in its learned ranks approves it, and the community comprehends its justice and conservative authority. Whoever reflects deeply must perceive, that this is the balance-wheel of our political system, the regulator, which sometimes accelerates and sometimes retards the public movements, but always works

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to ensure the general safety. Suspend its operation, or weaken its exercise, and we may still remain a federative government; but it will be one enfeebled and distracted by its bad adjustments, or hurried on to despotic excesses by the common plea of tyrants, the consciousness of power and the plausible pretences of necessity.

This topic is so copious, and of such everlasting consequence to the wellbeing of this Republic, that it furnishes matter for volumes; and we must escape from it with the brief hints already suggested, to resume the subject of the constitutional labors of Chief Justice Marshall. We emphatically say, of Chief Justice Marshall; for though we would not be unjust to those learned gentlemen, who have from time to time been his associates on the bench, we are quite sure, that they would be ready to admit, what the public universally believe, that his master mind has presided in their deliberations, and given to the results a cogency of reasoning, a depth of remark, a persuasiveness of argument, a clearness and elaboration of illustration, and an elevation and comprehensiveness of conclusion, to which none others offer a parallel. Few decisions upon constitutional questions have been made, in which he has not delivered the opinion of the Court; and in these few, the duty devolved upon others to their own regret, either because he did not sit in the cause, or from motives of delicacy abstained from taking an active part.

If we do not mistake, there is but a single case, in which his judgment is known to have differed from that of the Court upon any point of constitutional law. That case was Ogden *vs.* Saunders, decided at the last term of the Court, which involved the question of the constitutionality of an insolvent law, which was passed antecedently to the formation of a contract, and discharged its obligation. On this occasion, four judges, against the opinion of the Chief Justice and two other judges, decided in favor of the constitutionality of such a law. It is not for us to discuss the merits of this controversy; much less to assume the task of interpleading in such a cause, *magnas componere lites.* But we may be permitted to say, that the peculiar powers of the Chief Justice were never exhibited in a more impressive manner, or with more collected vigor. It is, indeed, a most delightful thought, that at the advanced age of seventy-two this great judge still retains the full possession of his faculties, and that he has gone on from year to year through

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his judicial labors with powers constantly improving by their wholesome exercise; and that if a single year were to be selected to furnish the most various exhibitions of his talents, none could be selected with more propriety than the last. To justify our assertion, we ask the attentive reader to take up the twelfth volume of Mr Wheaton's Reports, and examine for himself. Let him peruse with a professional or a common mind the opinions in the cases of Clark *vs.* The City of Washington, Williams *vs.* Norris, The Bank of the United States *vs.* Dandridge, Brown *vs.* The State of Maryland, Henderson *vs.* Poindexter, and Ogden *vs.* Saunders (to which we have already adverted), let him peruse, we say, the opinions in these cases, and consider how complicated and difficult were the points involved in them, and we are sadly mistaken, if he will not rise from the task with the most unhesitating approbation of our declaration.

We had originally intended to give an historical sketch of the constitutional questions argued in the Supreme Court during the period of his Chief-Justiceship; and we remain of the belief, that it would have been not without interest even to persons, who have never embarked in juridical studies. But the subject has already swollen so much under our hands, that we are compelled to abandon it for the present. We cannot, however, quit the judicial character of Mr Marshall without expressing our earnest hope, that he may long remain in his present exalted station, adding new and solid lustre to our national jurisprudence. Mr Wheaton has just closed his own valuable labors as reporter, by accepting an appointment to serve the government in the more captivating and dignified employment of a foreign mission. The Chief Justice can wish no more fortunate fate, than to have his future opinions preserved in as durable a form by as gifted a successor.

We have thus given a brief, but we trust, a faithful sketch of the life and public services of the author of the work now before us. We have been tempted more than once to break through the reserve, which duty imposes upon us, in speaking of the living, that we might indulge ourselves in other sketches of a more private and domestic nature, which would carry a charm with them into every circle. But we must forget the man, and proceed to the author; and in the very narrow space yet left to us, endeavor to do some moderate justice to the History of the American Colonies.

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We have already adverted to the severe diligence, with which the present revised edition has been prepared for publication by the author. From a regard to his own character, as well as from his habitual deference for public opinion, it may well be presumed, that the work has now attained a very high degree of accuracy. The public expectations in this respect will not be disappointed. Mr Marshall is not one of those ready writers, who run over a large mass of materials with a careless or indifferent eye, and sit down to write their first impressions, and fill up the spaces left vacant of facts with plausible conjectures, or imaginary events. He does not listen with implicit faith to every idle tale told by artless credulity or vulgar prejudice. He does not seek the title of superior wisdom by unsettling the truths of history, and proving, that all writers, but himself, have mistaken the facts and the characters of former times. He does not construct any new narrative of events, and in his own closet show how fields were lost or won, by drawing upon the resources of his own fancy. He does not dispute the veracity of persons nearest the scenes, simply because his own theory would be broken down by any admission in their favor. Far different is his course, and far different his ambition. The habits of his mind are close investigation, caution, patience, and a steady devotion to the weight of evidence. He examines all the materials before him with the sobriety and impartiality of judicial life. His conclusions, therefore, if they are not always absolutely correct, are such, as it is difficult to resist, and never without very strong historical support. We have no hesitation in declaring, that the present work contains the most authentic history of the colonies, which is extant; and that it may be relied on with entire safety, as combining accuracy with variety of information.

So far as the printed materials go, great care has been bestowed to embody in the narrative all important facts; and we venture to pronounce, that the authorities cited by him will be found upon examination fully to bear him out in every statement. The plan of the work excludes the notion, that it can expound with minute detail the rise and progress of every colony. That is properly the object of those local and distinct histories, which are employed in the survey of a single colony. In such a narrative, those domestic occurrences and local circumstances, which unfold the peculiar character of the inhabitants, their pursuits and their feelings, their faults and

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their factions, find an appropriate place. They amuse the curious, and instruct the antiquary; they warm the hearts and kindle the imaginations of those, who are born on the spot, and feel the inspirations of the place. But, for the most part, they can only be glanced at by the historian, and then only, when they have left deep traces of the times behind them, and imparted impulses, which have extended to other and distant ages. The private and internal transactions of states bear a very close analogy to the biography of individuals. Each may furnish materials for general history, but must be forever separated from it in objects and interests.

Mr Marshall's work professes to be a general history of all the colonies, and it is necessarily compendious. Yet it narrates all important public facts, and on no proper occasion omits to present to us the manners, and principles, and feelings of our ancestors, proper to illustrate those facts. He does not obtrude his own reflections with a profuse and embarrassing pertinacity. But there are everywhere scattered through the volume, in an unostentatious manner, proofs of his sagacity, candor, and intimate knowledge of human nature.

The style of the work is in perfect keeping with the character of the author. It is perspicuous, simple, and forcible. It possesses no studied ornaments, no select phrases, no elegant turns, and no ambitious floridness. It is plain, pure, and unpretending. Many of those words in the former edition, which were objected to by British critics in no very kind spirit, as peculiar to America, though they exist in the writings of authors of good repute in their own country, have been sedulously removed from the text. We do not object to this, though we have had occasion to know, that some criticisms of this sort have been owing more to the ignorance or petulance of the reviewers, than to their sound taste or extensive acquaintance with English literature.

After what we have said, it seems hardly necessary to add, that we recommend the work, as entitled to a place in every well selected American library, and as indispensable for every person, who aspires to a general knowledge of the history of America. We trust the learned author will find leisure to revise in the same manner his Life of Washington, and to give it the last finishing touches of his ripest judgment. The close of his long and active life could not be employed more usefully for himself or his country.

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There are two defects in the execution of the work, which we regret, and which may be easily removed in a subsequent edition. In the first place, the particular pages of the authorities cited are not given, so that the task of reference is very laborious to any reader, who wishes to verify a particular fact. In the next place there is no index to the matter of the work; and a table of the contents can never well supply such a deficiency. We do not dwell on these inconveniences; it is sufficient to point them out to the candor of the author.

ART. II.—*An Amended Version of the Book of Job, with an Introduction, and Notes chiefly explanatory.* By GEORGE R. NOYES. Cambridge, 8vo. pp. 200. Hilliard & Brown. 1827.

MUCH criticism has been expended on the Book of Job. Apart from its interpretation, several questions have been debated concerning the kind of composition, and the antiquity of the work; whether the history be true or fabulous; where the scene of the story is laid; to what age it is to be referred, and by whom it was written. On some of these questions, little satisfaction can be obtained, and we shall pass over the ground but very cursorily, before we come to speak particularly of Mr Noyes's Version.

With the exception of a short proem and conclusion, Job is acknowledged on all hands to be a poetical book. We do not seek the evidence of this in exact versification; for if any of the Hebrew writings ever had such a versification, we have now no means of ascertaining what it is. Oriental critics are not so idly employed now-a-days, as to search for the tetrameters, hexameters, sapphics, and iambics in Hebrew verse, of which the fanciful Jerome spoke so familiarly; but any one who is tolerably conversant with the Hebrew writings, will perceive a peculiar diction, and a distribution of sentences and members of sentences into that kind of correspondency of parts, which indicate some regard to numerical harmony; and which clearly distinguish the poetical books from those, which are merely narrative, or intended only to prescribe rules of life and

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ritual observances. The same distinctive evidences, concerning the poetical books of the Hebrews, cannot fail to discover themselves in a skilful version; and though most of the readers of our common translation of Job have probably never suspected that they were reading a poem, yet with very little change of phraseology, and with suitable divisions of the lines, they must cease to have any doubts on the subject. But there are much higher qualities of poetry in the book before us, in comparison with which verse is a mere accident, an insignificant appendage. Aside from the theological question concerning its inspiration, there is in it a spirit of poetical inspiration, and an effulgence of sublime conception, which place it above all that is called beautiful and grand in epic or dramatic story. The hero, indeed, is distinguished by none of the favorite exploits of Grecian or Roman fame. He is signalized by no such deeds as those of Achilles, whom Horace, a poet of no very warlike propensities, characterizes rather harshly;

> 'Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer,
> Jura neget sibi nata, nihil non arroget armis.'

He has the patience and prudence of Ulysses, and the piety of Æneas, without the dissimulation of the first, and without being blazoned by the deeds of personal valor ascribed to either. He is altogether a moral hero. The sublimity of his character is wholly a moral sublimity. The character is not indeed perfect or immaculate; but, taken as a whole, it affords an illustrious example of constancy under sufferings, and of a mind triumphing, by the aid of conscious virtue and unshaken fidelity, over a succession of adverse events and overwhelming calamities, and the perplexing conduct of real or pretended friends.

The descriptions of Deity, who has so much agency in the progress of the story, and particularly in its catastrophe, are often similar to those of some of the prophetic writings. But they appear to be addressed still more than these to human comprehension, and sometimes remind us of the strong, sensible images, by which Moses illustrates the power of Jehovah, in his song of deliverance from Egyptian bondage. There are, however, frequent and remarkable instances of simple and yet elevated descriptions of God's power over the elements and the material creation, and of his invisible operations, which indicate a true conception of spirituality, unaided by material objects.

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'He removeth the mountains, and they know it not;
He overturneth them in his anger.
He shaketh the earth out of her place,
And the pillars thereof tremble.
He commandeth the sun, and it riseth not,
And sealeth up the stars.
He alone spreadeth out the heavens,
And walketh upon the high waves of the sea.
He made Arcturus, Orion, and the Pleiades,
And the secret chambers of the South.
He doth great things past finding out,
Yea, wonderful things without number.
Lo! he goeth by me, but I see him not,
He passeth on, but I perceive him not.' ix, 5—11.

In all this there is a remarkable absence of symbolical representations of Jehovah. He *walketh* upon the waters, indeed; but there is no express mention of any members of material, bodily organization. The mountains are not removed by his powerful *arm*, nor the earth shaken, nor the pillars made to tremble by the *blast* or *breath of his nostrils*, nor the stars sealed up by his *fingers*. Throughout the book, there is a sort of inartificial gradation, though not a uniform climax, in the descriptions of Deity, which illustrate his dominion in the works of creation and providence, till they terminate at last in the most humbling challenge of human power and skill.

We might proceed to point out a great variety of particular and peculiar beauties in this composition. Little satisfaction however, is commonly derived from insulated examples of this kind; and when we come to analyze minutely what has pleased us in the aggregate, we resemble somewhat the artificer, who is delighted rather with the mechanism of the parts, than with the less distinct and general excellences of the whole, which command the admiration of most observers. We shall say nothing, therefore, of the animated apostrophes direct or indirect, which here and there occur; of the oracle which came secretly, and the ear caught a whisper; of the image whose form could not be discerned, accompanied by a breeze and a voice, and words of heavenly wisdom; of metaphors descriptive of divine attributes, of the tenure of human life, and of mortal weeknesses and woes; of moral delineations, whether of justice, beneficence, or charity; of strains of elegiac tenderness, or submissive devotion, or impatience and despair, all alike true to nature and to poetry; of scenic difficulties,

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which are nets, and traps, and snares placed in the path, or the way fenced up, or the lamp extinguished, and light turned to darkness; of local scenery and local allusions, and illustrations from animated nature. All these are scattered richly and profusely, and decorate the poem with a drapery less ornate and splendid, to be sure, than that of more modern oriental poetry, but still highly beautiful and picturesque.

As it regards the class of poetical compositions, to which this book belongs, it seems very unimportant how it is determined, or whether it is determined at all. It has not, as Mr Noyes remarks, strictly speaking, such an action as the models of epic and dramatic story have prescribed to those kinds of writing. Instead of a prominent action, from which the great moral flows, the moral is the result of reasoning, and of the exercise of the suffering virtues. The supernatural machinery which consists in the intervention of Jehovah and of such ministers of his power as he chose to commission, is consonant with the opinions of the Hebrews. And though it is sublime and splendid, incomparably beyond what Gibbon calls the elegant mythology of the Greeks, yet it is such as is employed in the prophetic writings of after times, and not peculiar to any species of sacred poetry. Neither is the work in any proper sense dramatic. The interlocutors are few, and utter elaborate discourses and arguments. And though these discourses are full of animation, they resemble speeches rather than dialogue, and the persons aim to establish or confute a moral and religious position, by moral and religious reasoning and illustration, with very little dramatic show. If it is worth while, therefore, to give it any particular name, we have no objection to call it, with Mr Noyes, 'a didactic poem upon the ways of Providence; the leading design of which, is to establish the truth, that *character is not to be inferred from external condition;* and to enforce the duty of *submission to the will of God.*' Mr Noyes has given a very full and satisfactory analysis of the book, as well in the introduction to his Version, as in the argument prefixed to its several chapters, or other more natural divisions, in the notes which follow the translation; and thus the reader is prepared to peruse it understandingly.

Whether this book contains a true or a fabulous history, is a question which has been often agitated. There have been some, both among Jews and Christians, who deny that such a person as Job ever existed, and who contend that the whole

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is a mere instructive fiction. Again there are others who maintain as strenuously the real existence of all the persons introduced, and the literal truth of the discourses, severally ascribed to them. Warburton considers the story as allegorical; making Job personate the Jews, and his three friends, as they are called, three great enemies of the Jews, and his wife the idolatrous wives of the people, mentioned by Nehemiah; thus bringing down the time to the return from the Babylonish captivity.

But where nothing can be known, and consequently affirmed with certainty, we must content ourselves with what is most natural and probable. Now it is consonant with all our knowledge of antiquity, that heroic stories, and such as are intended to enforce some great moral, however much of the fabulous may be mingled with them, are founded in historical facts belonging to real agents. And we can see no reason to doubt that there was such a person as Job; a man of great possessions and great probity; born and brought up in affluence; powerful and revered, beneficent and beloved; bereaved afterwards of his children, despoiled of his possessions, wasted by disease, and harassed by confident and self-constituted advisers; and who, irritated by their suspicions and reproofs, became weary of his life. And thus, when every thing went so ill with him, what more natural than the plaintive elegy with which the controversy between him and his three friends is closed. From this we select the following portions, in Mr Noyes's Version.

'O that I were as in months past,
In the days when God was my guardian!
When his lamp shone over my head,
And when by its light I walked through darkness!
As I was in the days of my youth,
When I communed with God in my tabernacle;
When the Almighty was yet with me,
And my children were around me;
When I washed my steps in milk,
And the rocks poured me out rivers of oil!

'When I went forth to the gate through the city,
And took my seat in the street,
The young men saw me, and hid themselves,
And the aged arose, and stood.
The princes refrained from speaking,

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And laid their hand upon their mouth.
The nobles held their peace,
And their tongue cleaved to the roof of their mouth.
When the ear heard me, it blessed me;
And when the eye saw me, it bore witness to me.'
xxix, 2—11.

'But now they, that are younger than I, hold me in derision,
Whose fathers I should have disdained to place with the dogs of my flock.' xxx, 1.

'Worthless and despicable,
They were driven out of the land.
And now I am become their song;
Yea, I am their by-word.
They abhor me, they stand aloof from me;
They forbear not to spit in my face.
They loosen the reins, and afflict me;
They cast off the bridle before me.
On my right hand rise up their brood;
They trip up my feet;
They raise up ways for my destruction.' xxx, 8—12.

We have said that there is sufficient reason to believe that Job was a real person, and that the history is founded in truth. Ancient tradition favors the supposition. 'If I have any perception of truth,' says Doederlein, 'tradition for a long time preserved the memory of Job.' But we are not obliged to suppose that his words are preserved with literal exactness; that a person prostrated with grief and pain, uttered himself in language the most eloquent and glowing, in an uninterrupted stream of poetical thoughts, and in poetical and metrical language too. Whatever we are told of the extraordinary faculty of the Arabs, in pouring out their unpremeditated verse, it goes but little way to account for the variety and magnificence, the beauty and grandeur of this divine poem. The scenery of the country in which it is supposed to have been written, where the inhabitants are surrounded with dark forests, and horrible precipices, and frightful solitudes, might give rise to unstudied images of terror, and naked and sublime descriptions of external objects. These must have been familiar to an inhabitant of the deserts and mountains of Arabia. But to clothe them in their moral garb, to use them in reasoning and illustration, to string these pearls, if we may use an oriental figure, so as to give connexion and design to the whole, seems to be

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the work of labor and of art. It is hardly credible, says *Mercer*, one of the most judicious and faithful commentators upon Job, that, in the condition in which he is described to have been, he could have spoken in this way. 'He said more or less; and this is the sense of what he said, afterwards reduced to the present form by the writer of the book.'

But though there is no difficulty in believing that Job was a real person, and that the facts in the history, as well as his feelings, and the general import of his language are given with sufficient fidelity, it is impossible to ascertain with any certainty who he was, or how he became so much known to the Hebrews, and so much regarded by them. All the knowledge we have of him is from the book itself, which seems to have no connexion with the history of the Israelites; and he is mentioned by none of the writers of their sacred books, till long after the time in which he is generally supposed to have lived, and the book which bears his name to have been written. It has been supposed by some, indeed, that he is the *Jobab* mentioned in Genesis, in the genealogy of Esau's descendants, and among those who rose to sovereignty in Edom or Idumæa This opinion grew out of a spurious appendix in some of the ancient versions, describing his descent, and was countenanced by some of the fathers, who wished to leave nothing unaccounted for. But it is not usual in the writings of the Old Testament to contract or change a name without any warning; and the degree of similarity of names in this case, amounts to little, and it would in fact be entitled to no regard, if the scene of the book were not supposed by some to lie in Edom, and its materials, in their opinion, to be more ancient than the writings of Moses. For, though Job claims to have been distinguished by great dignity, and to have commanded great reverence in the time of his prosperity, insomuch that princes and nobles were silent in his presence, yet there is no allusion in his discourses or history to his ever having been invested with royal authority.

In some of the preceding remarks, we have taken it for granted that the book of Job is of Arabian origin; and in this opinion there is a sufficient concurrence among the most approved critics. But there is a diversity of opinion concerning the part of Arabia, which is called the land of *Uz*, where Job is said to have lived. In the Septuagint version this name is translated *Αὐσῖτις*; and *Ptolemy*, who is accounted most worthy

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of credit in regard to the affairs of ancient Arabia, represents the *Αὐσῖται* as the inhabitants of a country near Babylon. It is accordingly placed by Spanheim, and by Rosenmüller after him, in the northern part of Arabia Deserta, and contiguous to the Euphrates and to Mesopotamia; being the part nearest to the Chaldeans, and also to the Sabæans, of whose incursions mention is made in the introduction of the book of Job. Those who suppose that this was a part of Idumæa, must make the distinction of West and East Idumæa, with Calmet, which has no other basis than conjecture.

Another fruitful subject of speculation, is the period of the history of the Hebrews to which the contents of the book of Job are to be referred. Some would make Job prior to Moses, and the history contained in the book which bears his name older than the Mosaic law; between the time of Genesis and Exodus. This opinion is founded mainly in the fact, that there is no mention of the rites, and customs, and affairs of the Israelites throughout the whole book. Now it is maintained, that Moses was the great model, or pattern, to which all the after writers constantly recurred, and that they never failed to make those allusions which showed their national origin. There does seem to be much weight in this argument, on the supposition that the work was written by a Hebrew for the use of Hebrews; though its weight is lessened by the consideration suggested by Mr Noyes, that all the characters are Arabians, upon whom the laws and usages instituted by Moses were not binding. And yet it seems a little remarkable, that in so large a composition of an Israelite, nothing should steal forth, even by inadvertence, which should betray his kin to the peculiar people. The language of all the characters introduced is consistent in respect to the unity of God; but this shows nothing more than the great antiquity of the book; that it existed before pure theism was supplanted by the worship of the heavenly host; at least while just notions of the divine unity were maintained by the more thinking and enlightened, though it would seem that the worship of the *heavenly host*, which was probably the beginning of all idolatry, was not unknown:

> 'If I have beheld the sun in his splendor,
> Or the moon advancing in brightness,
> And my heart have been secretly enticed,
> And my mouth have kissed my hand,—

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> This also were a crime to be punished by the judge;
> For I should have denied the God, who is above.'
> xxxi, 26—28.

Among the poets of Arabia, no less than among the philosophers, it is maintained by Sir William Jones, that a pure theism long outlived the stupid and gross idolotry which prevailed among the mass of the people. We may conclude, therefore, whoever was the writer of the book before us, that the opinions of the several characters are justly represented, even if it come down much lower than the time of Moses. The persons of the poem not being Israelites, and the place of Job's abode not being within the realm of Israel, are thought by some to be reasons sufficient why there should not only be no mention of the affairs of the Hebrews, but why the writer should be studiously silent concerning them. If this view of the case be satisfactory, nothing so far is determined concerning the date of the book, and we are left at liberty to fix it at any period of the Hebrew history, where other evidence may lead to a decision of the point.

There are many things in this book, says Rosenmüller (giving credit to hints before thrown out by Bernstein), which show that Job lived at a time when men were getting beyond the simplicity of the patriarchal age. Job himself lived in a city, and if he were not its chief, he was, from his own testimony, one of its principal men. Mention is made of the tumult of the city, of a written sentence, of words written and inscribed in a book or register, and engraven on a rock with an iron instrument. There is no evidence of the existence of any kind of writing among the Hebrews before the time of Moses. 'Some,' says Warburton, 'suppose letters to have been in use among the patriarchs, and to have been transmitted by them to the Egyptians; but there are such strong objections to this opinion, to mention no other than the patriarchs sending verbal messages, when it was more natural and more expedient to send them written, that others have thought proper to bring them down to Moses.' This learned prelate's own opinion is, that Moses, instead of having introduced letters into Egypt, as some maintain, was there educated as well in the knowledge of the alphabet, as in the general learning of the country.

That the writer of the book of Job was a Hebrew, there can be little doubt, since there are in it so many sentiments,

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and opinions, and modes of thinking, and forms of expression analogous to those in other sacred writings of the Old Testament. These analogies exist between Job and the Psalms to a considerable degree, and are more numerous and striking between Job and the Proverbs; and this has led many to ascribe it to David or Solomon. It is demanded, what else can be the occasion of the agreement; whether the author of Job drew from the Psalms and Proverbs, or the writers of these last imitated Job; or the parallelisms flowed from a common fountain. In a certain sense, the last supposition seems to be the true one. And the solution given by Rosenmüller appears to be perfectly natural and satisfactory, though perhaps a little too limited. The agreement which is so often detected between Job and the Psalms and Proverbs, according to him, proceeds not from imitation, but from a mode of speaking and philosophizing, a state of learning, of knowledge, and of opinions common to the same age. And, he adds, if we fix upon a time for the origin of the book of Job, we cannot be far out of the way in placing it between the time of Hezekiah and Zedekiah. In coming to this conclusion, he is influenced in some degree by the language and style, which tend towards Chaldaism. Parallel passages between Job and other parts of the Old Testament, are not confined to the poetical or prophetical writings only, but can be traced even in the Pentateuch. Nor is there anything marvellous in this. We may take a long period in the literary history of almost any cultivated people, and find a multitude of similar examples of agreement in their poetical writings, which bring no deserved suspicion of imitation or plagiarism upon the later author. This is true even in English letters, mutable as the language has been, and copious as it is in words and combinations. But take a language so limited as the Hebrew, the changes in which were very gradual for ages, in which so little was recorded, and so many proverbial and striking expressions were fixed in the memory; and it is not at all surprising that writings of a similar class should have many similarities of sentiment and phrase, though very remote from each other in point of time; quite as many as we find in the case we are considering, which we need not go about to account for by supposing a designed imitation. The other argument taken from the Aramaic dialect, to which the book of Job approaches, if it amounted to much, would go to prove a still more recent origin, than that

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which is fixed upon by Rosenmüller. Some learned critics, and among them the celebrated Gesenius, say that all the poetical writings of the Old Testament border upon the Aramaic dialects. Now if this be admitted, it is justly inferred that the dialect of the book we are considering does not necessarily prove the recent origin of the work, but only its poetical style. Indeed when we find, as we often do, how rashly great oriental critics have decided on these subjects, and how widely they differ from each other, we are disposed to value the following caution as worthy to be placed among the *canons* of biblical criticism, in regard to the Old Testament; 'We should not judge very positively concerning the antiquity of the books, guided by a certain peculiar sound of words and style, before the history of the Hebrew language and its various dialects, are thoroughly examined and explained.'

We have said nothing concerning the author of Job, because we consider the attempt to ascertain this point entirely hopeless. But the canonical authority of the book is well established. Though it is not mentioned expressly by Philo and Josephus, who had no occasion to cite it, yet it is acknowledged by Jerome and Origen among the christian fathers, and also in the Talmud, beside being quoted in the Epistle of James. Its having a place in the canon of the Old Testament, is a strong proof that it was written by a Hebrew, since, as Mr Noyes remarks, the Hebrews were jealous of their religious prerogatives, and would not be likely to admit into their sacred volume a poem written by a foreigner.

Every reader of our common version of the book of Job, who has thought at all on the subject, must have frequently felt the want of an amended version, in various instances, notwithstanding the universal attachment which exists to the language of the old translation. Mr Noyes expresses great respect, in common with the general feeling on this subject, for the common version of the Bible;

'It has great merit in several respects. No new translation can or ought to succeed, which does not resemble it in language and style. For the excellence of its language, however, we are not, as is commonly supposed, indebted to king James's translators, but to the successive translators of the Bible from the time of the first English version.

'Much light has been shed upon the meaning of the sacred volume, since the common version was made. The present trans-

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lator does not profess to have made discoveries. He has only attempted, by a careful study of the original, with the help of the best commentaries and lexicons, to bring forward for common use what has long existed, but has been locked up in ponderous folios, or in ancient or foreign languages. The notes are designed for various classes of readers, and intended to be chiefly explanatory. But with respect to the more important alterations, it has been thought best to give some of the reasons and authorities on which they were founded.' *Introduction*, p. ix.

Whoever shall examine Mr Noyes's list of the principal works which he has consulted, and the notes which are annexed to his version, will be alike satisfied with the extent and the impartiality of his researches; and that they are directed mainly to the correction of false or obscure translations. Not that he has never deviated from the common version for the sake of a better word or expression, which does not essentially affect the meaning; or from taste, where the language might be improved, without losing any of its force; but he has never deviated, as far as we can perceive, through affectation or caprice. He has not allowed himself the latitude, and could not, according to the rules he prescribed to himself, which Dryden gave in laying down the principles of translation from the ancient classic poets. It would be ludicrous, indeed, to make a Hebrew speak, as he would have spoken, if he had spoken in English. But there is a due regard to our vernacular idiom, which must be observed by a translator from writings in any language, or of any age. And it happened from inattention to this particular, and from false notions of fidelity, that obscurities were allowed by our old translators to deface their work; obscurities nearly allied to error, and calculated sometimes to mislead the reader.

While the Germans abound with translations of this and other books of the Old Testament, both in Latin and in their vernacular tongue, English theologians and scholars have been very sparing of similar labors. There is no English version of Job of much critical and poetical pretensions combined, except that of *John Mason Good;* and in our opinion the pretensions of this version in neither respect are very well sustained. The simplicity which ought to reign in the translation, is too often marred by a forced inversion of language, by unusual words and far-fetched interpretations, by an affected compounding of terms, and an ambitious display of poetical phraseology.

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Take, for example, the commencement of the poem, where Job breaks out in execrations of the day of his birth.

'Perish the day in which I was born!
And the night which shouted, a man child is brought forth!
O! be that day darkness!
Let not God unclose it from on high!
Yea, let no sunshine irradiate it!
Let darkness and death-shade crush it!
The gathered tempest pavilion over it!
The blast of noon-tide terrify it!
That night—let extinction seize it!
Let it not rejoice amidst the days of the year,
Nor enter into the number of the months!'

Good's Job, chap. iii, 3—6.

'Perish the day in which I was born,
And the night which said, 'A man child is brought forth!'
Let that day be darkness;
Let not God regard it from above;
Yea, let not the light shine upon it!
Let darkness and the shadow of death dishonor it;
Let a cloud dwell upon it;
Let the deadly heats of the day terrify it!
As for that night, let darkness seize upon it;
Let it not rejoice among the days of the year;
Let it not come into the number of the months!'

Noyes's Job, chap. iii, 3—6.

We should be willing to leave it to every reader of taste to say, which of these translations best comports with the notions he has formed of the circumstances that gave rise to these impassioned exclamations; which is most conformable to the natural language of passion. And we hazard nothing in affirming that Mr Noyes's version of the passage is more faithful, and corresponds much more nearly to the versions of the best translators and critics.

Dr Good's governing reason for *shouted* instead of *said*, is, that it is more spirited; but to our ears, it is a term rather too riotous. *Unclose* is a meaning of remote inference from the primary meaning of the original. *Sunshine irradiate* it, *tempest pavilion* over it, and *extinction* seize it,—are instances of departure from the simplicity of the Hebrew phraseology. 'Let the tempest pavilion over it,' is what Mr Noyes renders in the same way as is done in our common version, and with literal exactness, 'let a cloud dwell upon it.' *Death-shade*

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instead of 'shadow of death,' which last is familiar to every reader of the English Bible, and translated in Latin versions *umbra mortis*, is adopted for no other reason, as we can perceive, but because it is a compound similar to the Hebrew. But 'shadow of death' is the literal rendering, and 'death-shade' is an inversion of the words of the Hebrew compound. *Crush*, in the same line, instead of 'dishonor' or pollute, is substituted from the meaning of a supposed kindred verb in Arabic; a kind of criticism always requiring caution, but very dangerous as it is wielded by Dr Good, and in the present case introduced in defiance of all the rules of etymology, which regard the analogy subsisting between the Hebrew and Arabic letters.

There is a diversity in one line, in the passages cited, between Dr Good and Mr Noyes, and other translators, which is worth remarking as affording an instance of great obscurity in the original; and by no means a solitary instance in this book.

'The blast of noon-tide terrify it!' *Good.*
'Let the deadly heats of the day terrify it!' *Noyes.*
'Let the blackness of the day terrify it!' *Common Version.*
'Horrificent cum dirissima quæque!' *Rosenmüller.*
'Ihn schrecke jegliches Unheil!' *Augusti und De Wette.*

The literal meaning of the word that has given rise to these different interpretations, depends on its derivation; and it signifies, according to the primitive, either *heat* or *bitterness*. The noun is in the plural form, and is followed by the word signifying *day*. Dr Good takes his flight from the *æstus*, or *vapores æstus*, of Cocceius, to *pestilential vapors*, and thence to *black blasts*, and thence to poisonous winds (*videlicet*, Simoom or Samum), till he lights upon the poetical phrase *blast of noon-tide*. Mr Noyes, without superinducing one meaning upon another, takes the sense which naturally flows from the primitive, according to Gesenius (and he might have added, Buxtorf, Cocceius, and others), and adds an epithet not unsuitable to the intensive signification of the word, *deadly* heats. The word used in our common version is authorized by some learned lexicographers. The translations of Rosenmüller and De Wette are founded upon a different supposed primitive—the *bitternesses* of the day—whatever evils could befal it.

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We forbear to enter into any minute criticism of the passages, which we have selected from the two versions of Dr Good and Mr Noyes. What we have done is merely from a wish to give the general reader as fair and intelligible a view as we are able in so short a compass, and from a single specimen, of the relative merits of these two translations. For Dr Good's version, with the introduction and voluminous notes, is a large volume, and one of imposing appearance; and when we are calling the public attention to a new English version, the merits and defects of its predecessor come fairly before us. To our taste, Dr Good has too many wayward fancies in his mode of interpretation; he is too much afraid of simplicity, which we should think, from some of his renderings and annotations, he holds to be a word synonymous with feebleness; he is often drawn out of his way by remote analogies, and is so fearful of creeping, that he ever and anon soars aloft with too venturous wings. Though a man of various learning, we have not so much confidence as we could wish, in the accuracy of his *oriental* learning. By his frequent use of it, he would seem to claim some eminence in this department; but from the multitude of errors which might be pointed out in his criticisms, it can hardly be allowed him. Many of these errors were exposed some years since by the Eclectic reviewers; and thus bringing upon themselves a pretty angry attack from the author, they afterwards made very thorough work in the execution of their thankless office; and in their efforts to increase the amount of evidence, sometimes perhaps bordered upon hypercriticism, and sometimes made the critic answerable for all the untractableness of the types. But after the most generous deductions, enough remained to establish the fact, that he was not among the number of accurate and careful critics. And we might proceed to show, what, if we rightly remember, was not remarked upon in those reviews, namely, that his criticisms drawn from languages kindred to the Hebrew, particularly from the Arabic, are often unsound, and sometimes founded in radical mistakes concerning the etymology of words.

Mr Noyes, on the contrary, cautiously feels his way, and if he sometimes errs, as well he may, in his interpretations, it is where there is great uncertainty about the true course. His object is always to give some meaning; and this, especially where no essential doctrines are involved, but only the purpose of giving connexion and intelligibleness to discourse, is certain-

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ly better than giving no meaning at all. We may say of Job, what a celebrated translator of ancient classic poets said of Persius; that the most skilful interpreter can only divine his meaning in some cases, and cannot be sure that he has divined rightly. In such cases, it is not the translator's business to make nonsense, or throw about the passage a convenient ambiguity, but, after weighing probabilities, to come as near the author's sense as he can. Such appears to have been the process in producing the Amended Version, which is distinguished by its simplicity and good taste, and bears the marks of patient investigation and good judgment.

In the introduction to this book, there occurs four times a word, which, in the rendering of our common version, has probably struck most readers as a very harsh expression. In the fifth verse of the first chapter, Job says, 'It may be that my sons have sinned, and *cursed* God in their hearts.' In the eleventh verse, Satan says to Jehovah, 'Put forth thine hand now, and touch all that he hath, and he will *curse* thee to thy face;' and again in the fifth verse of the second chapter, 'Touch his bone and his flesh, and he will *curse* thee to thy face.' In the ninth verse of the same chapter, his wife says to Job, '*Curse* God and die.' Now that the same Hebrew word, and a word that constantly occurs in the Old Testament, signifying *bless*, should here seem to require an opposite rendering, has been somewhat of a *crux interpretum*. We remember to have heard of a gentleman, when in a state of pupilage, who was well nigh won by an Oriental Professor to join the Hebrew class, being so appalled with the uncertainty of the language, from the unlucky mention of this case by the professor, that he renounced his purpose in despair. But Dr Good would restore the word to its legitimate and primary meaning in all cases, and remove all the difficulties in the instances here cited. This he does by a process, to speak very gently of it, *parcè detortum;* and by liberties which no critic probably will grant him. He translates 'My sons may have sinned, *nor blessed* God in their hearts.' i, 5. 'Will he then indeed bless thee to thy face?' i, 11, and ii, 5. 'Dost thou hold fast thine integrity, blessing God and dying?' ii, 9. The violence done to the original in the first instance, is that of giving the connective *vav* a negative signification, *nor*, the same as *and not*, while the preceding member, with which this is connected, is affirmative; and with all the latitude which must be

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given to this connective, we are confident that the use here supposed by the translator, is unexampled. The second and third instances, rendered interrogatively, are also wholly unauthorized, and are vindicated by no examples. The compound particle used in the Hebrew, implies a strong asseveration; *formula juramenti*, as some of the lexicographers express it. If therefore it admits of an interrogative form, in any case, the negative part of the compound must not be overlooked; and instead of 'Will he then, indeed, bless thee,' we must supply a small word, and read, 'Will he *not* then, indeed, bless thee,' which is an emendation that would not be quite suitable to Dr Good's purpose. The case of Job's wife, as it is commonly understood, is the most revolting of all. Perhaps the notion of an ironical use of the word is not unsuitable in this place; though we should rather favor a similar sense to that in which we think the word is used in the preceding cases. Now if there is a secondary use of the word, not unlike that which often takes place in all languages, which affords an explanation of these passages, such as will approve itself to the judicious, then it is worthy to be adopted. Mr Noyes has given a good summary of the reasons which have induced him, in common with many eminent critics, to adopt the rendering in his Version, in which he has preserved a uniformity in the several texts we have quoted from the common version and from Dr Good's translation.

'Chapter i, verse 5.—*and renounced God in their hearts*; i. e. been unmindful of him, dismissed him from their thoughts, or withheld the reverence and homage which are his due. It is hardly credible that Job suspected his children of *cursing* God. He was only apprehensive lest the gaiety of a festival had made them forget God, and neglect his service and worship. The term בָּרַךְ generally signifies *to bless*. It was the term of salutation between friends at meeting and parting. See Gen. xxviii. 3. xlvii. 10. In the latter use of it, it corresponded to the English phrase, *to bid farewell to*, and like that came to be used in a bad sense for *to renounce, to abandon, to dismiss from the mind, to disregard*. It may imply *disregard, neglect, renunciation*, or *abhorrence*, according to the connexion in which it is used. *Χαίρειν* in Greek, and *valere* in Latin, are used in the same way. Thus Eurip. Med. 1044.

Οὐ δῆτ' ἔγωγε χαιρέτο βουλεύματα.

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'And Cicero in a letter to Atticus (viii. 8.), in which he complains of the digraceful flight of Pompey, applies to him a quotation from Aristophanes; πολλὰ χαίρειν εἰπὼν τῷ καλῷ, *bidding farewell to honor*, he fled to Brundusium. Another instance of this use of *valere* is in Ter. And. iv. 2. 14. *Valeant, qui inter nos dissidium volunt.* Also in Cic. de Nat. Deor. i. 44, near the end; *Deinde si maxime talis est Deus, ut nullâ gratiâ, nullâ hominum caritate teneatur, valeat!* See Schultens and Rosenmüller.' *Notes*, p. 4.

We might proceed to point out many particular instances, in which Mr Noyes has improved upon the common version. In the chapter which contains Job's execrations of the day of his birth, a part of which we have quoted in another place, is the following passage;

'Let the stars of its twilight be darkened;
Let it long for light, and have none;
Neither let it see the eyelids of the morning.' iii, 9.

Eyelids of the morning is an oriental image, literally translated, which we think with Mr Noyes is worth preserving; though some may prefer 'the dawning of the day,' in the common version, as being more adapted to the comprehension of most readers. Milton transferred this *oriental pearl* to our language, which circumstance is noticed by Mr Noyes;

'Under the opening eyelids of the dawn,
We drove afield.'

There is a passage in a succeeding chapter, of doubtful interpretation, which Mr Noyes has left untouched.

'Behold, man is born to trouble,
As the sparks fly upward.' v, 7.

The literal meaning of the phrase here rendered *sparks*, is, according to most of the lexicons, *sons of heat*, or *of a live* or *burning coal*; suggesting as naturally as any thing, sparks. But it is variously rendered *arrows*, *coruscations*, *eagle*, *vulture*, *bird of prey*, *bird-tribes*. It is no want of good judgment in Mr Noyes, since the present version gives as true an illustration of the thought, and as probable a meaning of the words as any other, to suffer it to remain unaltered.

The following passage is rendered in a manner much more clear and intelligible than we find it in the common version.

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'But my brethren are faithless like a brook;
They pass away like streams of the valley,
Which are turbid by reason of the melted ice,
And the snow, which hides itself in them.
As soon as they become warm, they vanish;
When the heat cometh, they are dried up from their place.
The caravans turn aside to them on their way,
They go up into the desert, and perish.
The companies of Tema look for them,
The caravans of Sheba expect to see them;
They are ashamed that they have relied on them;
They come to the place, and are confounded.' vi, 15—20.

Caravans is perhaps somewhat objectionable, because it is the mere translation of one oriental word into another, and the translation of an ancient and more general term, into one comparatively modern, and more specific. And it is a little capricious, perhaps, to translate the same Hebrew word, in the second instance, *companies*, and a different word again *caravans*. In neither case, however, does it materially affect the sense. We incline to Mr Noyes's version, 'The caravans turn aside to them on their way,' rather than to our common version, 'The paths of their way are turned aside;' though critics are not entirely agreed in this case.

We could proceed with a good relish to cite examples through the book, which vindicate its title, *an amended version*. But we should in this way occupy a disproportionate share of room for this article. We shall therefore content ourselves with a remark or two on the Notes annexed to this version. In comparison with those of Dr Good, they are in quantity about one fifth. They are always to the purpose, while those of his predecessor comprehend all imaginable things, supposed to bear upon the subjects of the text. Mr Noyes's notes will be found very useful, not only by enabling the reader to preserve the thread of the discourse, but also by showing the meaning of particular passages, and of apposite metaphors and comparisons; by illustrating local allusions, whether relating to modes of life and personal occupations, or to peculiarities of country, to climate, and soil, and natural scenery, and natural productions; all of which serve to give beauty and individuality to the descriptions, and afford those embellishments, which cannot always be understood or enjoyed without something of the critic's aid.

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If there is anything of superfluity in Mr Noyes's Notes, it is in the illustration of the sentiment in the text of his version, in some cases where it is not uncommon or peculiar, by citation from the ancient classics. A great portion of these illustrations and coincidences are indeed such as we should be unwilling to spare; and we know that it is so much to the taste of many scholars, that for them there is little danger of excess. In the case before us, however, we consider the remark of consequence rather for caution than for censure. All that we should expunge would make a very slight diminution of the materials of the volume.

We feel in duty bound to say, that the kind of learned labor exhibited in this volume has, in our opinion, fallen into very competent hands; and we have little doubt, that the public mind is prepared, or may easily be prepared to welcome the toils of the learned, who shall succeed in giving a more pure and intelligible translation of the sacred writings, if the same respect is shown to the language of our common version, which Mr Noyes so constantly manifests.

Art. III.—1. *Voyage of His Majesty's Ship Blonde to the Sandwich Islands, in the Years* 1824–5. *Captain the Right Hon. Lord Byron, Commander.* London. 1826. 4to. pp. x. and 260.

2. *Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii.* By William Ellis, Missionary, from the Society and Sandwich Islands. Third Edition. London. 8vo. pp. 480.

3. *Review* of the preceding works in the London Quarterly Review, No. LXX. pp. 419—445.

4. *The Rev. C. S. Stewart's Letters on the Sandwich Islands,* as published in the Boston Daily Advertiser.

The attentive reader of voyages and travels must have observed a very great diversity in works of this kind. Some, though relating to unpromising fields, contain much to excite attention and reward a careful perusal; while others, in which interesting countries are described by eye-witnesses, exhibit nothing but tedious specimens of barrenness and stupidity.

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Among the travellers of the present day are men, who have displayed high qualities of the mind and the heart. Laborious, discriminating, patient, cautious, and possessing a most amiable candor, they have evinced not only a scrupulous regard to truth, but a conscientious fear of doing injustice to individuals, or communities, by hasty and unauthorized representations. A far greater number, however, have written with little knowledge, and less consideration; and have sent their crude speculations and random assertions into the world, without the slightest sense of responsibility. Matter is furnished for the pages of the splendid quarto, with as little deliberation, as is observable in the preparations of the most careless editor of a daily newspaper; and charges, deeply affecting the character of large classes of men, are made with as little ceremony, as by the vehement bar-room politician, against a party to which he is opposed. It is expected, in the mean time, that the splendid quarto will be praised in the popular reviews; and, if it flatters national prejudices, or ministers to national vanity, this expectation is pretty sure to be realized. Thus rash calumnies are propagated, to an indefinite and most injurious extent. Erroneous impressions are made upon the minds of multitudes in all parts of the civilized world; and not a few individuals, who would otherwise have been impartial, form and cherish antipathies which will never be eradicated.

It is obvious, from this view of the subject, that all who wish to obtain correct information, to discriminate between undoubted facts and heedless conjectures, and to avoid becoming the dupes of the shallowest impositions, should first ascertain the character of the traveller, and the means of information which he possessed, and should thus fix his claims to credibility. This may often, but not always, be done by looking at the internal evidences only. In the cases before us, there are other means of judging.

The narrative of Mr Ellis was reviewed in our work.* It was published in this country and in England, contemporaneously; and the third edition issued from the London press, in a little more than a year from the appearance of the first. The second and third editions were successively enlarged by the introduction of much new matter. A portion of these additions relates to the government and usages of the islands; and, as

* No. LI, pp. 334—364.

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the information respecting this topic is more authentic and more particular, than any which has heretofore appeared, we make the following extracts.

'The government of the Sandwich Islands is an absolute monarchy. The supreme authority is hereditary. The rank of the principal and inferior chiefs, the offices of the priests, and other situations of honor, influence, and emolument, descend from father to son, and often continue through many generations in the same family, though the power of nomination to every situation of dignity and trust is vested in the king; and persons by merit, or royal favor, frequently rise from comparatively humble rank to the highest station in the islands, as in the instance of Karaimoku, sometimes called by foreigners, William Pitt. This individual, from being a chief of the third or fourth rank, has long been prime minister, in rank second only to the king, and having, in fact, the actual government of the whole of the Sandwich Islands.

'Hereditary rank and authority are not confined to the male sex, but are inherited also by the females; and, according to tradition, several of the islands have been once or twice under the government of a queen.

'Four distinct classes or ranks in society appear to exist among them. The highest rank includes the king, queens, and all the branches of the reigning family. It also includes the chief counsellor or minister of the king, who, though inferior by birth, is by office and authority superior to the queens and other members of the royal family.'

The second rank includes the governors of the different islands; the third, the head men of districts or villages; and the fourth, very small landholders, and all the common people.

'Every island is given by the king to some high chief, who is supreme governor in it, but is subject to the king, whose orders he is obliged to see executed, and to whom he pays a regular rent or tax, according to the size of the island, or the advantages it may possess. Each island is separated into a number of permanent divisions, sometimes fifty or sixty miles in extent. In Hawaii there are six, Kohala, Kona, &c. Each of the large divisions is governed by one or two chiefs, appointed by the king or by the governor, and approved by the former. These large divisions are divided into districts and villages, which sometimes extend five or six miles along the coast; at others, not more than half a mile. A head man, nominated by the governor, usually presides over these villages, which are again subdivided into a number of small farms or plantations. The names of these are generally significant; as *Towahai*, the waters broken, from a stream which runs

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through the district, and is divided near the sea; *Kairua*, two seas, from the waters of the bay being separated by a point of land, &c.

'Although this is the usual manner in which the land is distributed, yet the king holds personally a number of districts in most of the islands, and several of the principal chiefs receive districts directly from the king, and independent of the governor of the island in which they are situated.'

The governor collects and pays over taxes for the king. He also makes exactions on his own account. The smaller chiefs demand rents and services from their inferiors; so that, by all this process, the poor laborer is kept in a state of abject poverty.

It is manifest, that so far as the principles of christianity are received and obeyed, the government of the islands will assume a more mild and equitable character.

In the last chapter but one of Mr Ellis's book, and in the Appendix, are numerous facts respecting the language of the Polynesians, and the question of their supposed origin, to which we may advert, in a subsequent part of this article. All the discussions, on these and other subjects, are conducted by Mr Ellis with becoming caution and modesty. His work abounds in matter of deep interest, and sustains a truly respectable rank among books of this class.

What degree of credit is due to the voyage of the Blonde, our readers will have some means of judging, when they learn in what manner the book was made up, and how difficult it is to find a responsible author.

A frigate had been sent by the British government, on a voyage of kindness to a remote tribe of uncivilized men, under the command of a nobleman, who had just succeeded to the title of his relative, the most distinguished poet of the age. Under these circumstances, the return of the ship naturally presented to the eager and wakeful mind of a London bookseller, the inquiry, whether a profitable use could not be made of almost anything, which should commend itself to the nobility and gentry of Great Britain, as a voyage under the auspices of Lord Byron, whose grandfather had signalized himself in the Pacific, and whose immediate predecessor in the title, endowed with a genius, which cast all titles into the shade, had recently fallen in the cause of Grecian liberty. Application was therefore made to Mr Bloxam, the chaplain of the Blonde,

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for such materials as he might be able to furnish. This gentleman kept a journal, but with what regularity, or with what pretensions to accuracy, does not appear. One of the American missionaries saw many parts of this journal, at the time when it was composed; but of these parts, very few are to be found in the volume before us. The papers of Mr Bloxam, however, such as they were, or at least some of them, were put into the hands of the publisher. The writer could not, or would not, prepare them for the press. He left England in haste, to enter upon the duties of a foreign chaplaincy. We do not believe that Mr Bloxam had unfriendly feelings towards the American missionaries; or that he would have spoken of them otherwise than in terms of respect. Just as he was about sailing from Portsmouth, he heard of Mr Stewart's arrival in London, from the Sandwich Islands, and immediately sent a friendly note to him, regretting that imperious circumstances would prevent the renewal of their former agreeable intercourse. The ordinary rules of politeness did not require this attention; and there is no reason to think it would have been shown, if Mr Bloxam had cherished the spirit, which is often apparent in the 'Voyage,' and in the 'Review,' which it called forth.

We have arrived at the first stage in the production of a book of travels. Scraps of a journal are deposited in the hands of a bookseller. These scraps, however, not being judged suitable for the eye of the public, either because they contained too little or too much; because they wanted connexion or consistency, or would reflect credit on men whom it was not thought expedient to praise; for some of these reasons, or all of them united, were delivered to a Mrs Graham, a sort of literary *redacteur*, or intellectual mechanic, whose ready services must be of special importance to the trade. In this way, with a few hasty notes for the elements of the composition, travels can be written in London, and suited to every meridian and climate in the world.

In the case before us, however, Mrs Graham was not satisfied with the notes of Mr Bloxam. That it would have drawn too heavily upon her powers of invention, if she had undertaken to fill up all the chasms in the voyage, we dare not assert. She thought it well to apply to some of the junior officers of the Blonde for their journals, which they were so kind as to submit to her inspection. She sought an interview

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with the American missionary, then in London, who, having heard from her own lips some of the misstatements, which now appear in the work, frankly corrected them; and told her plainly, that if she relied upon some of the authorities, which she had quoted, she would be egregiously misled; for without impeaching the character or motives of the midshipmen, whose journals she possessed, it must be perfectly evident, that, as they knew nothing of the native language, and had few opportunities of learning the condition of the people, or the effects of the mission, and as they must derive much of their information through very suspicious channels, it would be altogether unsafe to send reports forth to the world, merely because they might have been entered in the private diaries of these youthful officers.

To the foregoing particulars, in regard to the origin and manufacture of this book, the public have a right; and it is hoped that they may not be useless as a specimen of the art and mystery of writing travels, especially as taken in connexion with what will appear in the sequel of this article.

On examining the book, it is apparent that very free use is made of Mr Ellis's narrative, which was published only a few months previously. Nearly all the most interesting facts, relating to the traditions of the islanders, and the history of the islands, are taken from this source. Mr Ellis must doubtless consider himself highly honored by such condescension, as the acknowledgment is made in so remarkably courteous a manner, by placing at the bottom of the page, the words '*See Ellis;*' which token of gratitude and respect meets the eye very frequently, though not so frequently as justice would require. It must, also, be quite comforting to the purchaser of a two guinea book, to see that all the best passages are taken from a contemporaneous work on the same subject, which contains much more than the work he is reading, and on incomparably better authority; and which can be had for one third of the money.

It is remarkable, too, that fragments which were furnished by the American missionaries, as illustrations of the language of the natives, and of their skill in composition, are inserted without scruple; and, in return for this politeness to their visiters, the missionaries are treated with contempt and calumny. Acknowledgment is made to Mr Bingham, in the body of the work, for a translation of a native song, which is there

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copied; but as it was deemed convenient, in several subsequent passages, to hold up Mr Bingham to reproach and scorn, another native song, of which he gave a copy, both in the original and in a translation of his own, is inserted in the Appendix, without *any acknowledgment whatever*. It doubtless occurred to the delicate mind of Mrs Graham, that it would not be well to make too free with a name, which she had vilified; and that some of the literary labors of Mr Bingham, in this department, had better stand to the credit of the joint concern of Bloxam and Co., of which concern she was the factor. In like manner, a particular account of the *pule ana-ana*, or death-prayer, which was copied, by permission, from the private journal of Mr Stewart, is published in the Appendix, with the vague acknowledgment, '*from the missionaries.*' In a word, everything which could be obtained from the portfolios of the missionaries, or gleaned from their conversation, to fill out a dull and disjointed narrative, and impart some sort of animation to heavy pages, was greedily seized and thrown into the small collection of heterogeneous materials for a book, the principal design of which appears to have been, as the principal effect will be, to make prejudiced and ill informed readers think contemptuously of Americans, and of the character and labors of the American missionaries.

To fill the volume, it was necessary to give a long account of the visit of Riho-Riho to London, where he died. Many frivolous things are mentioned, and even the tavern bills of the party are commemorated; but it is perfectly evident, that the writer had no means of discovering the real views and feelings of this young king and his followers. On her homeward passage, the Blonde touched at several small islands, and at two or three ports on the western coast of South America. Incidents of this kind serve to give some variety; and we think that, in all these parts, the journals of the midshipmen were used. The last article in the Appendix, is an accurate and officer-like survey of the harbor of Waiakea, or Byron bay, on the eastern coast of Hawaii, by Lieutenant Malden, of the Blonde, with useful notices of other harbors in the Sandwich Islands. This article is of more value, than all the rest of the book, because it may be relied on.

As to the body of the work, if we take away all that Mr Ellis and the American missionaries have been made to contribute; a few tolerable passages, which doubtless were copied

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from Mr Bloxam's journal; and some gross misrepresentations of facts, on which we propose to animadvert; the remainder will exhibit a specimen of as complete inanity, as can well be imagined. There is one good thing about the book, and that is its brevity. After all the labor to collect matter from so many sources, and to make much out of a little, the whole could be printed, and not very closely, in a duodecimo volume of two hundred pages.

If we are asked, who is responsible for the accuracy of the statements in the work, we are happy to say, that Lord Byron *is not*. It does not appear, that he ever saw a sentence of original composition that it contains, or that he directly or indirectly sanctioned the publication. Some anonymous correspondents appear to have had a hand in it; and among them, and the midshipmen, and Mrs Graham, and Mr Bloxam, the responsibility must be divided, according to the skill, judgment, and conjectures of the reader.

That Mr Bloxam is not peculiarly, or especially, responsible for any obnoxious statement or passage, which can be pointed out, we think is plain from the following sentence in the preface. 'The editor is conscious, that some things may have been omitted, and some, possibly, mistaken, notwithstanding every endeavor to do justice to the work, owing to a want of that local knowledge, which Mr Bloxam, as an eye-witness, must have possessed, and with which he would, no doubt, have extended and adorned his narrative, had he fortunately remained to prepare it for publication.' Indeed! '*Some things may have been omitted.*' How omitted? Stricken out of the manuscript of Mr Bloxam? Did not the editor know, that *many things were actually omitted*, in this manner? Or is the meaning, that *some things may be deficient*, which her own imagination could not supply, but which were necessary to explain what was inserted? Again, '*Some things may possibly be mistaken, owing to a want of local knowledge.*' Undoubtedly. The man or the woman, who undertakes to fill up chasms in a book of travels; or to form into one texture shreds and patches, from the journals of different writers, and from hearsay reports, not only *may possibly be mistaken*, but, without a miracle, must *inevitably* fall into error. It is impossible that a work, thus formed, should sustain any character for accuracy.

Mrs Graham calls herself the editor. We should call her

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the *fabricator*, not using the word here in the odious sense (which would be to prejudge the question), but in a *mechanical sense*, as accurately descriptive of the kind of smithcraft, which she must have used in connecting the detached links placed at her disposal.

We might here stop, and dismiss the book as nearly worthless; and we should do so, if its tendency were not highly pernicious. Nor would even this consideration induce us to proceed, were not the evil greatly magnified, by the currency which is given, through reviews and other channels, to what is pernicious, as well as to what is useful, in works which are constantly issuing from the press. It is to be remembered, also, that the exposure of blunders and perversions in one publication, may supersede the necessity of exposing similar blunders and perversions, should they be repeated; and that some of the greatest benefits of criticism result from its operating by way of example.

The editor (for so we must call her) manifests a commendable zeal to display whatever knowledge is within her reach. In the following instance, she really supposed she had advanced beyond Mr Ellis. 'The Sandwich Islanders,' says she, 'reckon by forties, or, as we may say, double scores; they call forty teneha; ten tenehas is one lau; ten lau a manu; ten manu a kini; ten kini a lehu; ten lehu a nurwanee; ten nurwanee one pao.' In a note, it is added, 'Ellis, in his Appendix, says the islanders only count as far as the kini.' It is true that, according to Mr Ellis, the natives count only to five denominations; that is, to four hundred thousand; and he had inadvertently transposed the *kini* and *lehu*, putting the *kini* last. The editor would represent the natives as going two denominations further; that is, to forty millions. Now it would seem somewhat remarkable, that Mr Ellis, after residing two years at the Sandwich Islands, and six years at the Georgian Islands, where a dialect of the same language is spoken, and after conversing and preaching in these dialects, as readily as in English, should not have discovered the extent of the numerals so accurately, as a person who could converse with the natives only by an interpreter, and who probably never even attempted to study the language.

This mystery is explained at once, by a member of the American mission, who has recently returned from the islands. The word *narawali*, improperly written *nurwanee*, means *for-*

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gotten, unknown, unthought of; and the word *pau*, wrongly written *pao*, means *all*, or *the whole*. When the native was questioned, either in London, or at the islands, *What do ten lehu make?* or *What comes next?* he doubtless answered, *Narawali;* by which he meant, *I can go no further, all beyond is unknown.* The unsuspecting Englishman, however, supposed he had got a new denomination; and, in fresh pursuit of another, inquired *What next?* or, *What do ten narawali make?* To which the native answered, *Pau; I have said all I can say;* and this was written down as a regular numerical denomination; so that, in conclusion, when the Englishman comes to understand his own system of notation, he will find that ten *lehu* make one *unknown*, and ten *unknowns* go for the *whole*. In what manner the Englishman was made to understand, that the native had actually, and absolutely, arrived at the very *ne plus* of his knowledge, we can only guess. Probably it was by some significant gesture.

One favorite design of the editor, is to make it appear that the Sandwich Islands are under the special guardianship of Great Britain. With the political reasons, which relate to this subject, it is not our design to intermeddle. Whether it would be wise, or unwise, for the British or the American cabinet to desire colonies in the Pacific, we leave for others to decide. There is no doubt, however, that things are now tending toward the occupation of these islands by a foreign power; and this result seems inevitable, unless the natives should become so far civilized, as to institute an efficient police, and cause their rights to be respected.

Though we are so often reminded of the kindness shown to the islanders by the British government and people, there is one passage at least, which indicates that this kindness is not absolutely and purely disinterested.

'Besides, the commercial interests of England, in the Pacific, are likely to be greatly injured in case the Sandwich Islands should fall into the hands of the Russians or Americans, and it was of some importance to grant the protection the king had come to seek, *for our own sake,* as well as for his.' p. 72.

Whatever may be thought of the British government taking the Sandwich Islands under its peculiar guardianship, or whatever this relation may imply, there can be no doubt, we should presume, that the common interest of the commercial world

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will be promoted, by that elevation of moral and intellectual character, which it is the object of missionary labors to impart. More than a hundred vessels now touch at the principal port in these islands, in a single year. Most of them are large ships, having a full complement of men and valuable cargoes. As the population of North America increases, and especially when the western coast shall be inhabited by civilized communities, the resort to these islands will be incalculably great. If the natives shall then be orderly, industrious, and virtuous, the intercourse may be reciprocally beneficial. It would seem most likely to give satisfaction to all, if a strict neutrality were observed, and all were permitted to pursue commerce and obtain refreshments, on conforming to impartial and salutary regulations. The subject is one of considerable importance, and deserves the particular attention of the Russian and American governments, as it already has the attention of the British.

The account of the religion of the islanders, which is presented in the 'Voyage,' is totally unsupported by evidence, and directly against the testimony of Mr Ellis and the other missionaries. It is just such an account, as might with equal propriety be inserted in any other book of travels among a heathen people; and, in almost all cases, it would be directly opposed to facts. But let us look at one of these passages.

'The belief of a Supreme Being, the author of all nature, and the peculiar protector and father of the human race, was the foundation of their creed, in common with that of all the tribes of men, who have begun to think of more than the supply of their physical wants.' p. 10.

'They deified the operations of nature, and placed between man and the Supreme Creator, a race of intermediate and generally benevolent beings, to support and comfort him. *Ibid.*

Now it will appear, on a very slight examination, that the *creed* here mentioned is a mere fiction, without a particle of evidence to sustain it; though it has been so often repeated, that superficial writers and credulous readers believe it to be a reality. In some few tribes of North American Indians, there seem to have been traces of a belief in an omnipresent and all powerful Deity; and in these tribes there was no idol-worship. But among other tribes of our continent, there is not the slightest proof, that the conception of God, as a spiritual being, or as a being who takes an interest in human affairs, ever en-

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tered the minds of any of the people. And the same is true of almost all the human family, who have not derived their religious faith, either directly or remotely, from revelation. But to return to the Sandwich Islands. The natives had no idea of a 'Supreme Being, the author of all nature, and the peculiar protector and father of the human race,' nor of a 'race of intermediate and generally benevolent beings to support and comfort man.' The only motives to religious worship, seem to have been a hope of averting the malevolent influence of evil deities, or of directing that malevolence upon enemies, in time of war, or of keeping the common people in a state of servility to the chiefs. The thought of support, or comfort, to be derived from these odious beings, or of moral accountability to a superior power, or of moral principle as applicable to the conduct of either gods or men, much less of a pure, spiritual essence, governing the world and pervading all things,—never entered the mind of a Sandwich Islander, till he derived it from European and American visiters. The ascription of enlarged and sublime thoughts of the Deity to the Polynesian tribes, is as mere a fabrication, as it would be to pretend that they were acquainted with the astronomical discoveries of Newton or Laplace. It is doubtful whether any of their deities were of a higher character, than that of deceased kings and giants. Polyphemus and Enceladus would come up to their standard; and probably Hercules, certainly Neptune, would greatly transcend it.

One great source of error, with writers on this subject, is, that they almost uniformly assume, that heathen nations are now, or have generally been, *in a rising state*. Thus it is said, in the passage above quoted, that the foundation of the Polynesian creed was held by the natives, 'in common with all the tribes of men, *who have begun to think of more than the supply of their physical wants*.' It is here taken for granted, that men gradually rise to juster views of the Deity, without the aid of revelation, by the operation of their own minds. We ask for the proof of this doctrine. All Scripture is against it. Much history is against it. The present state of the heathen world is against it. We have yet to learn, that there has been a single instance, upon the face of the earth, of an ignorant and heathen people, making advances in the knowledge of God, unless they derived aid from some extraneous source. If there is such an instance, let it be produced, and let the mat-

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ter be thoroughly investigated. On the other hand, the instances of deterioration are innumerable. They can be found in every period of authentic history. The Indians of our own continent are very striking examples. It can be proved from their languages alone, that they are descended from a highly cultivated race of men. But they have been sinking lower and lower, till, in regard to any theory of morals and religion, most of the tribes have sunk to the very bottom. Far from employing their minds upon such subjects, they never think of them at all. They are in a state of perfect moral darkness, so that, when asked the plainest questions, they reply without the least concern, *We do not know; our fathers never told us; we never think about it.*

After describing a visit to a place formerly used for idolatrous worship, the editor relates the following story, as having been received from a man on the spot, who was once the officiating priest.

'One morning his father had placed the usual offering of fish and poi before the Nui Akua, or Great Spirit. The son having spent a long day in an unsuccessful fishing expedition, returned, and, tempted by hunger, devoured the food of the gods. But first he placed his hands on the eyes of the idol, and found they saw not; and then his hands into its mouth, but it did not bite; and then he threw his mantle over the image and ate; and, replacing the bowl, removed the mantle and went his way. Being reproved by his father, he said, "Father, I spoke to him, and he heard not; I put my hand into his mouth, and he felt not; I placed tapa over his eyes, and he saw not; I therefore laughed and ate." "Son," said the old priest, "thou hast done unwisely; 'tis true the wood neither sees nor hears, but the Spirit above observes all our actions."' p. 201.

Now we utterly discredit this story. It has no verisimilitude. Even the children know, that hideous carved images do not see, or hear, or bite. They suppose these images to be *representations*, made according to the skill or caprice of the artist, and designed to present to the eye some memorial of material gods, who go from place to place, in the general form and figure of men, and who occasionally visit the sacred inclosures, where they are worshipped. It was known to all the people, that the food placed before the idols was not consumed by them; and generally, at least, that it was not consumed by the gods, of which these idols were the types; for nothing was

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more common, than for these offerings of hogs and fruit to remain from day to day, till they became putrid and decayed. Sometimes it was pretended, we believe, and perhaps often, that the gods came in the night, and consumed the food placed before the idols.

As to the *Nui Akua*, a very doubtful phrase (which if there is anything to authorize it, would be spoken *Akua Nui*), we have never heard, that any *great god*, or *god by way of eminence*, was worshipped in Hawaii; much less, that such a god had a distinct idol made for him. And if there were such a god, there is no propriety in translating the phrase into the English words *Great Spirit*;* for the highest conceptions, which the natives had of any deity, fell as far short of even the Jupiter of the classics, as the shapeless images of wood, stone, and feathers, were inferior to the most finished statues of Phidias or Praxiteles. What then can be said of the use of the word *spirit*, the most sublime in its import (with the exception of *Jehovah*), by which Christians are accustomed to designate the God of the Scriptures. The sentiment, with which the extract closes, that 'the Spirit above observes all our actions,' was never of Polynesian origin. It sounded very prettily to the ears of the London writer, and therefore it was written down.

After these specimens of the editor's acquaintance with the religion of the natives, it may be proper to look a little at her historical memoranda.

In giving some account of Lahaina, in Maui, a choice specimen of eloquence and history is introduced, by way of episode.

The occasion was this; an insurrection broke out at Tauai, in September, 1824, when Karaimoku was on that island. He immediately sent up to the windward for a thousand armed men. A large part of them volunteered at Lahaina. Mrs Graham's account of the matter is as follows;

'At Maui the erees [that is, the chiefs] agreed it would be proper to send two hundred men in canoes; but the chiefs themselves, either dreading a renewal of the bloody scenes which had troubled them in the time of Tamehameha, or moved by the caprice or indolence of half-civilized men, seemed unwilling to join the expedi-

*For remarks on the manner of translating Akua, see our former review of Mr Ellis's book, No. LI, pp. 360, 361.

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tion, when Kaikioeva, an aged chief, came among them, and learning the cause of their meeting, and their backwardness to go to battle, he lifted up his withered hands and said; "Hear me, ye chiefs; ye who have warred under the great Tamehameha. Karaimoku and I were born upon the same mountain in this island. We were nourished at the same breast, and our boyish sports were in common, and together we breasted yonder foaming waves. In manhood we fought side by side. When Karaimoku was wounded, I slew the chief whose spear had pierced him; and though I am now a dried and withered leaf, never be it said that Kaikioeva deserted his friend and brother in arms in time of need. Who is on Karaimoku's side? Let him launch his war canoe and follow me." This burst of eloquence, from so approved a warrior, aroused the chiefs. In an hour all the war canoes in and near Lahaina were launched, and bore six hundred men to Tauai, in time to join Karaimoku as he marched to attack the fort of Taumuarii.' pp. 99, 100.

It is true, that Kaikioeva was at Lahaina, when Karaimoku sent thither for reinforcements; that he said he would not leave his old friend, or (as Virgil expresses it more exactly) his *æquævum amicum*, unassisted in time of danger; and that this declaration had some effect in hastening the departure of the people. All the rest is either apocryphal, or positively false. Upon this account, we remark,

First, as there were but few chiefs at Lahaina, and of these Kaikioeva was the highest, it is absurd to suppose that the rest determined what to do without consulting him, and that it was only by accident that he became acquainted with what had been determined on. We believe he was governor of Maui at the time; and, if so, all the orders must have proceeded from him.

Secondly, there was not a war-canoe at Lahaina, when this celebrated speech was made; of course none could be launched. And if the shores had been lined with canoes, not one *would* have been launched; because the government possessed much better means of transportation. Not only was this the fact, but the editor *knew it to be so;* for she has recorded it (p. 192) in these words; 'The superior advantage of European vessels has, of course, as soon as felt, *superseded the use of the war-canoe.*' Tamehameha possessed European or American vessels, and profited by them, many years ago; and the use of the war-canoe had been long superseded; and yet, for the sake of a flourish, war-canoes are created at Lahaina,

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in September, 1824, and launched in an hour, in sufficient numbers for the conveyance of six hundred men.

Thirdly, these war-canoes arrived at Tauai, it seems, at the very time when Karaimoku was marching to attack the fort of Taumuarii. Now it so happens, that there is but one fort in Tauai, and of that Karaimoku was in undisturbed possession, when the reinforcements arrived. He had been attacked in this fort, when the insurrection broke out; but the assailants were repulsed, and they never repeated the attack. He pursued them across the island; and if they erected any temporary defences, there could have been nothing in their possession worthy of being called *a fort*.

The rhetorical embellishment of the aged chief '*lifting up his withered hands*,' and calling himself a '*dried and withered leaf*,' is amusing enough to those who have been acquainted with him. Mrs Graham, being so intimately conversant with the Sandwich Islands, and their inhabitants, ought to have known, that he is a perfect model of plumpness and rotundity; that he has a smooth and shining skin; and that no alderman in the British metropolis appears at a greater remove from anything *withered*, than this same governor Kaikioeva. Thus it is, that rhetoric and history, fiction and fact are jumbled together. Many a speech has been written for a savage hero, which, if it could be repeated to him, would make him stare worse than the approach of an enemy.

We have seen in what manner the religion of the islands appeared to the editor; let us now attend to her view of the social and moral character of the people.

In the early part of the 'Voyage,' we are cheered with the design of purifying the morals and improving the manners 'of an intelligent, cheerful, and sweet-natured people.' (p. 52.) The Quarterly Reviewer goes further, and says, that 'a more cheerful, inoffensive, hospitable, and kind-hearted people, than the Sandwich Islanders, *do not exist in any society whatever*.' And he refers to Mr Ellis's narrative, in which it appears that, among other enormities, *two thirds of the children perish by the hands of their own parents;* generally, soon after they are born, though sometimes after they are three or four years old. The same Reviewer afterwards quotes from the 'Voyage,' an account of the great council, at which Lord Byron was present, and where 'the heroic Kapiolani then said, that on the lands belonging to herself and her husband, Naihi, she had

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used every endeavor to establish laws for prohibiting robbery, murder, and, especially, drunkenness, adultery, infanticide; and, on the whole, she had been tolerably successful.' It would seem to us rather singular, that upon the first dawning of christianity upon so kind-hearted and inoffensive a people, it should be necessary to establish laws against robbery, murder, adultery, and infanticide; and that when these laws were introduced among a little community of perhaps five thousand souls, all that could be said, should be, that the experiment had been *tolerably successful.* We must think, notwithstanding the assertion of the Reviewer to the contrary, that the people of Scotland, Switzerland, and the United States, and of other countries in which christianity has prevailed, are much more inoffensive and kind-hearted, than the Sandwich Islanders in their original state.

In describing the character of a barbarous and uncivilized people, it is not easy to do exact justice, or to leave precisely the right impression. Mr Marsden always speaks of the New Zealanders, as a noble race of men, and as capable of high improvement; yet, taking any one of his journals, and perusing the whole of it, there will be little danger of mistaking their character; which is that of the most cruel, revengeful, treacherous, murderous set of cannibals to be found upon earth. Some of them, and even those who had visited England, persisted in the practice of roasting and eating their prisoners, against the strongest remonstrances of the missionaries residing among them. Indeed, it seemed at one time not improbable, that the missionaries themselves would be murdered, and their bodies used for food, by the very people for whom they were laboring, and whose friendship had been solemnly pledged. These savages, however, or their descendants, it is hoped, may become Christians; and, under the transforming influence of divine truth, may be raised to a civilized condition.

The Sandwich Islanders are not cannibals; though the inhabitants of many islands in the Pacific occasionally eat the bodies of their slaughtered enemies. Excepting cannibalism, it is difficult to mention the crime which was not perpetrated in the Sandwich Islands, without compunction and without shame. The last nine verses of the first chapter of Romans contain a far juster account of the character of the people, than can anywhere else be found in the same number of words. They were not, properly speaking, 'haters of God,'

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because they had no knowledge of God, or his attributes; nor were they remarkable for 'debate,' unless when intoxicated; but we are unable to mention any other characteristic, in that appalling description, which did not belong to them as a people, when christianity began to exert an influence upon them.

It is said the natives were 'cheerful.' There was doubtless much rude laughter, a sort of heedless gaiety, when they met, either for their obscene songs and dances, or for other amusements. In this respect they much resembled ignorant and thoughtless children, who have been brought up in some debased and dissolute neighborhood, and who, amid their coarse jokes and idle banter, laugh at everything. Though the islanders do not appear to value human life at all, when they can gain any desirable object by killing each other, yet it has always been safe for white men to travel among them. This does not appear to be accounted for, however, by the restraining influence of moral principle. How far the policy of Tamehameha, which induced him to cultivate intercourse with foreigners, and how far the dread of civilized men, which is so common among savages, may have had an effect in this matter, we are unable to say.

The Reviewer, in another place, calls the Sandwich Islanders a 'simple-minded people,' by which we suppose he means, that they are ready to believe what they are told, and that they are frank and honest in their own declarations. This is a total mistake. Distrust and treachery are among the vices of almost all savages. For their distrust, however, they are not so much to be blamed; because it is the result of their painful experience. This universal want of confidence is perhaps their greatest source of torment; and it is the great evil with which missionaries have to contend, for a series of years, at the commencement of every mission. So much have savages usually seen, both among themselves and their visiters, of treachery, fraud, and villany, that they do not believe it possible, that any man should be actuated by other than selfish and sinister views. They utterly discredit professions of disinterested friendship; though they do not always tell you so to your face. They know nothing, either from what passes within their own bosoms, or from what takes place within the range of their observation, which whould make them think, that missionaries should leave their homes, and reside in a foreign land, merely for the sake of doing good. But when they have

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looked on for a few years, and have witnessed the coincidence between professions and conduct; when they have seen missionaries labor patiently for the benefit of froward and heedless strangers; and when they experience the salutary influence of such labors; it is not uncommon that they yield a confidence unlimited, in the same proportion as it had been pertinaciously withheld. The Reviewer, in the case before us, seeing this confidence reposed in the American missionaries, and not knowing how laboriously, and against how many obstacles it had been won, supposed it was to be accounted for by looking at the simple-mindedness of the natives.

When the first missionaries arrived, in the spring of 1820, the mass of the people were in a state of ignorance, degradation, and misery, greater than can be imagined by any one, who has always resided in a christian country. There is no doubt, that they were much more wretched, than when the islands were discovered by Captain Cook. Two most frightful causes of calamity had been introduced by foreigners; namely, a loathsome disease, and the use of distilled spirits; and both these causes, with many others, had been in such a state of aggravation, as to threaten the islands with absolute depopulation. It is believed, on good grounds, that the number of inhabitants had diminished one half, in little more than forty years; and that the downward course was never more rapid, than at the time here alluded to. The common people were poor in the extreme, almost utterly destitute of clothing, living in hovels, with the loose straw on which they slept, and their matted hair, filled with vermin. To raise up such a people, from their degradation, did the missionaries devote their lives.

But the moral condition of the islands cannot be more forcibly represented by any one fact, than by the notorious practice of celebrating the death of a high chief by Bacchanalian and Eleusinian orgies; or, in plainer language, by an unbounded license, extended through several days, for every individual to do what he pleased. One would think that now was the time for a *kind-hearted* people to show their kindness; and for an *inoffensive* people to do no harm; for here was no constraint of any kind. The theory of the custom, or what may be called *the fiction of the law*, was, that the grief of the people was so excessive, that they knew not what they did, and therefore they could not be held responsible for their conduct. In ac-

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cordance with this fiction, immediately on the death of a chief being announced, a most ungovernable wailing ensued; all the people of both sexes crying, screaming, shrieking, and expressing their sorrow by most vehement gesticulations, and working themselves up to a most extravagant frenzy. They tore out their hair, beat their breasts, knocked out their teeth, cut themselves, and struck themselves on the head, with clubs, or any hard substance, which fell in their way. Then followed a universal, promiscuous, public, shameless prostitution of females, from which neither age nor rank was exempt. In these days of riot and debauchery, robberies were perpetrated, every old grudge was remembered, and murders were not uncommon. Language is inadequate to describe the scene.

After such a recital, it is pleasing to add, that christianity has already put an end to these abominations. Keopuolani, the mother of Riho-Riho, died in September, 1823. She was, in point of rank, the highest person in the islands; and, in pursuance of ancient custom, her death would have been the signal for the greatest enormities. But she had embraced the Gospel; and, in anticipation, had taken measures to prevent these evils. The people wailed greatly at her decease; but other extravagances were not witnessed.

When the news of Riho-Riho's death arrived from England, Karaimoku took special pains to abolish what remained of this practice, and was entirely successful.

As to the islanders being so kind and simple-minded, another fact may not be improper. During the slight insurrection, or rebellion, at Tauai, which has been already mentioned, Karaimoku, being then under the influence of christian principles, gave the most humane orders to his armed men, as to the treatment of their vanquished and flying adversaries. But some of the inferior chiefs yielded to their own ferocious dispositions, rather than to his orders, unnecessarily destroying both lives and property; and there were instances of their shooting and stabbing, out of mere wantonness, infirm, helpless, aged persons, of both sexes, who had not borne arms, and who never even thought of resistance. This was not done by old soldiers, hardened in camps; but by young men, who had never seen war before, and to whom this was the first opportunity of publicly killing their fellow-subjects, under the color of authority. In former times, as all tradition unites in declaring, wars of extermination were waged; by which we mean,

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that it was common to give no quarter, and to massacre the women and children of the vanquished party. And this mode of warfare has been practised, in other islands of the Pacific, as missionaries have witnessed with their own eyes.

When Karaimoku, Kaahumanu, and other chiefs had begun to learn something of the true religion, and to see the reasonableness of its requirements, their eyes were gradually opened to behold the enormity of their previous character and conduct. And so it was with the common people. None of them pleaded the kindness of their hearts; but all were ready to confess, that their minds had been in darkness, their hearts evil, and their conduct abominable.

Every person acquainted with the human character is aware, that no vice is more destructive of all that is noble and generous in man, and that none leaves a more indelible stain, or brings more deep and thorough debasement, than lewdness in its aggravated forms. Yet this vice is of all others least restrained throughout Polynesia. Of this fact, the editor of the 'Voyage' seems to have been not altogether unapprized. In connnexion with some benefits, indirectly acknowledged, as conferred upon the natives by the American mission, we find the following sentence.

'It is to be hoped, also, that the spiritual doctrine that those gentlemen are inculcating, and the habit of universal clothing, which the chiefs, who have travelled, are desirous of introducing, will check the vice and its consequent evils, which have been too often mentioned and lamented by former visiters, to require a more serious notice here.' p. 137.

The most favorable specimen of composition, which we can give from the volume before us, is a description, of part of the funeral solemnities, on landing the remains of the king and queen at Honoruru.

'Having reached the church, which was hung with black on the occasion, the cars were drawn up before the door, and the persons of the procession formed a circle around, while the chaplain of the Blonde read the funeral service in English, and the American missionary addressed the assembly in their native tongue. The procession then, in the same order, marched to the same house, belonging to Karaimoku, where we had been received the day after our arrival.

'As soon as the coffins were deposited on the platform, the band accompanied some native singers in a funeral hymn, which

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the missionaries had written and taught them to sing to the air of Pleyel's German Hymn. We could not help reflecting on the strange combination of circumstances here before us. Every thing, native-born and ancient in the isles, was passing away; the dead chiefs lay there, hidden in more splendid cerements than their ancestors had ever dreamed of; no bloody sacrifice stained their obsequies, nor was one obscene memorial made to insult the soul as it left its earthly tenement; but instead, there was hope held out of a resurrection to happiness, and the doctrines admitted that put an end to sacrifice for ever and pronounced the highest blessing on the highest purity. Where the naked savage only had been seen, the decent clothing of a cultivated people had succeeded, and its adoption, though now occasional, promises permanency at no distant period. Mingled with these willing disciples, were the warlike and the noble of the land, the most remote on the globe, teaching by their sympathy, the charities that soften, yet dignify human nature. The savage yells of brutal orgies were now silenced; and as the solemn sounds were heard for the first time, uniting the instruments of Europe, and the composition of a learned musician, to the simple voice of the savage, and words, not indeed harsh in themselves, framed into verse by the industry and piety of the teachers from a remote nation, came upon the ear, it was impossible not to feel a sensation approaching to awe, as the marvellous and rapid change a few years have produced, was called up to the mind.' pp. 128—130.

This passage is known to be from the pen of Mr Bloxam, as it is distinctly remembered by the missionary, now in this country, who read parts of his journal. Several expressions in it, such as 'bloody sacrifice,' 'obscene memorial,' and 'the savage yells of brutal orgies,' do not seem to be in very exact agreement, with what was quoted respecting a 'kind-hearted and inoffensive people.'

But to let that matter rest, it would seem that a mighty transformation had taken place,—one which is here celebrated in strains of warm panegyric, and one which might naturally have excited so much respect, if not admiration, for 'the industry and piety of the teachers,' by whose persevering labor it had been effected, as to have secured them from any rude attacks throughout the volume. Such attacks, however, are made; and in such a manner, and under such circumstances, as to require investigation, and to deserve the attention of the public.

In a preceding passage, after describing the first public interview between Lord Byron and the chiefs, when he was in-

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troduced to the young king, and the presents of the British government were delivered, the editor, or journalist, adds;

'The ceremonies being over, and the gifts delivered, the American missionary, Mr Bingham, *who loses no opportunity of mingling in every business*, proposed prayers; and accordingly said what may be called *a long dull grace* to the entertainment, first in English, and then, as it appeared to us, more easily in the Sandwich tongue. As soon as he had ended, refreshments were placed for us on a table.' pp. 117, 118.

On this passage our first remark is, that we exonerate Mr Bloxam entirely from the least suspicion of having written it, or given his consent to it. Were it correct in point of fact, the expressions are so unsuitable to be used by one minister of the Gospel, in speaking of another who had treated him with kindness and respect, that we should not charge them upon him, unless compelled to do so by irresistible evidence. Happily, the presumption is the other way. The paragraph was written, probably, either by a midshipman, who stood in so remote a part of the hall as not to know what took place, or who received the account by hearsay altogether; or by a correspondent at the islands, who is laboring to find proofs of Mr Bingham's interference with politics; or by the editor in London, who, seeing it mentioned in the journal, that Mr Bingham offered a prayer, may have inferred, that he proposed it himself. We are inclined to think, that the midshipmen must share the authorship of this precious *morceau* among themselves.

Now as to the truth of the statement, we are able to say, that the prayer was *not* proposed by Mr Bingham, but by Karaimoku. This was stated in the journal of the missionaries, written at the time, and since published in this country, and has lately been confirmed to us verbally, by one of them who was present. Soon after the formal introduction of Lord Byron, the delivery of the presents, and the reception of them with suitable acknowledgments, Karaimoku turned to Lord Byron, and, in a very respectful and dignified manner, expressed himself in words, which were interpreted nearly as follows; 'Would it not be well to unite in a prayer of thanksgiving to Jehovah, that he has inclined the king of England to show favor to us poor people, in sending to us the remains of our king and queen, and that he has preserved you safely during the

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voyage, and brought you to our islands?' To this proposal, which was made spontaneously, and without any consultation with the missionaries, Lord Byron readily assented. Karaimoku then requested Mr Bingham to offer the prayer, which was a matter of course, as he was the only missionary present who had long been in the habit of speaking the native language; and, indeed, the only ordained missionary, who resided permanently at that place.

It would not be worth while to take notice of such blunders and misrepresentations, were they not made the foundation of serious charges against the mission. It should be remembered, that where there is one impudent writer, there will be many unreflecting readers, who will take him at his word; and that, when men hold so public and responsible a station, as is held by the missionaries at the Sandwich Islands, it is a serious evil, that unfavorable opinions should be extensively formed of their character, in consequence of falsehoods and misrepresentations, circulated through what are deemed respectable channels.

We must pause here to apprize our readers of the true grounds of opposition to the labors and character of the missionaries, as it has existed for the last three years. These grounds may be classed under three heads.

1. Among the visiters and foreign residents at the Sandwich Islands, there are not a few whose love of gain is much stronger than their love of morality. These people have the sagacity to see, that if the influence of the mission prevails, so as to discourage or put an end to drunkenness, there will be fewer purchasers of rum; and that, if the mass of the people learn to read and write, and become intelligent, it will not be so easy, as it has been, to make profitable bargains out of them.

2. Most visiters at the islands have been in habits of licentious intercourse with the native females. This intercourse is, through the influence of christianity, becoming more difficult.

3. The remaining cause of obloquy and opposition, is an apprehension that, as the missionaries are Americans, and are exerting a great influence upon the people, this influence will ultimately clash with that right of guardianship and protection, which is claimed for the British. Comparatively few feel the weight of this motive; but these few are very busy, and to

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their activity the misrepresentations of the volume before us are principally to be attributed.

An opposition being thus formed, and fed by motives continually and briskly operating, some pretext for it must be assigned; the true reasons not being sufficiently creditable to the opposers. The missionaries had been the happy and voluntary instruments of producing a great change in the moral condition of the people. Drunkenness had been nearly prevented, though four years ago it was more prevalent than among any other people in the known world. Lewdness had been greatly restrained; and foreigners began to apprehend, that they should themselves be compelled to be more moral, or to seek the indulgence of their vicious propensities in some region, which had not experienced the power of christianity. The missionaries, as a natural consequence of their great and benevolent services, were held in high estimation by the chiefs and people. Having uniformly shown themselves to be men of truth and integrity, diligence and disinterestedness, they had established for themselves a character, such as had never been known at the islands before. The chiefs had a great regard for their advice, and would doubtless have received it gladly on any subject, on which they would be willing to give it. As the chiefs had actually made laws, which bore hard upon the vices of foreigners; as these laws had been undeniably prompted by a regard to religion; and as religion had been introduced by the missionaries only, it seems very plausible to assert, that *the missionaries had interfered with the government of the islands.* This assertion has therefore been made, and a thousand times repeated; with what truth will appear in the sequel.

The opposition has been felt toward *all* the missionaries, and their whole system of operations; but as Mr Bingham was one of the little band, who first arrived, and the only ordained missionary permanently residing at Honoruru (the seat of government and the place where foreigners principally resort), it was to be expected, that he should experience a large share of hatred, and should often be selected by name for crimination and reproach.

Beside the charge of interference with the government, there is also a heavy impeachment of the mission, on the ground of the strict observance of the Sabbath, and the numerous religious services, which have been imposed upon the natives.

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Both these topics of complaint are displayed in the following long quotation from the Voyage.

'Unhappily, the good men who, as missionaries, have abandoned the sweets of civilized society, to devote themselves to the improvement of these Islands, and in obedience to the command, "Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them," are of a sect too austere, as we should think, for the purposes they are so anxious to promote.

'The old tabus are indeed no more; but they have called Sunday the *la tabu*, or consecrated day, and nothing in the heathen time could be more strictly tabued. The missionaries forbid the making of fire, even to cook, on Sunday; they insist on the appearance of their proselytes five times at church every day; and having persuaded them, that they are the necessary conductors to heaven, they are acquiring a degree of public and private importance, which, but for the situation of the islands, which secures a constant accession of foreigners for the purposes of commerce, would bid fair to renew the Jesuitical dominion of Paraguay. It is true they defend their system by saying, that since the tabu for the false deities was so severely kept, the proselytes might despise our doctrine, did we pay less regard to Him, whom we preach as the true God; that, as to the not cooking on Sundays, it is no hardship, for it has always been the habit to cook enough for two or three days at a time, and to eat cold meats between the cooking days, because the mode of dressing food by fire-pits and heated stones is so very slow; and as to the frequency and length of the prayers, the people have nothing better to do. Such are their answers. But other missionaries have found something for their catechumens to do. The Moravians at the Cape of Good Hope have taught the Hottentots, the most degraded race of men, and that nearest, before their time, to the brutes, the arts of civilized life.' 'We believe mistaken zeal to be the source of many of the errors we see; but we fear, also, that some of the love of power has mingled with the zeal, and that the government of the country, through the medium of the consciences of the chiefs, is a very great, if not the principal object, of at least one of the mission.

'We had a striking proof of their power the other night. It was Saturday; and as Karaimoku was now well enough to enjoy a spectacle, the promise made to Boki of reserving some of the figures of the phantasmagoria, for his friends at Oahu, was recalled, and preparations were accordingly made for its exhibition. As it was a public show, every body was expected to be there; and if Messrs Bingham and friends were not expressly invited, it was probably because it was supposed they would come, if they

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did not imagine the amusement of too worldly a nature. They had certainly due notice of it; for that very morning one of the party had a long conversation with one of the officers on the subject. How were we astonished, therefore, when all things being prepared, the company assembled, and among the rest the little king and princess, notice was given, that, on so near an approach of the Sabbath, prayer was a fitter employment! Accordingly, the two poor children were carried off in tears, and many of the chiefs and people followed to the missionary meeting. Karaimoku and Kaahumanu however staid with us, and were extremely charmed with the exhibition, examining the room after it was over, and exhausting themselves in conjectures as to the manner in which it was produced.

'The intemperate indecency of this conduct, on the part of the mission, seems to have occurred to the more reasonable among themselves. Mr Stewart was with his wife, whose health is exceedingly delicate, at some distance; a note was sent to him, we think by Mr Bingham, to tell him what was going on. His sensible advice was, that the missionaries, with their congregation, should adjourn in a body to the theatre, see the show, and then return to prayers. This advice however was not acted upon, and our phantasms played to a thin house.

'Mr Stewart endeavored to explain the matter as follows;—It appears that two native teachers, who were highly regarded in the Island, and who had the more influence over their countrymen, as they spoke their own language, and were of their own kindred, had been brought up *in one of the United States*, where the Jewish method of reckoning time is observed, *and the day begins and ends at noon;* hence the Sunday, the first day of the week, begins at noon on Saturday the seventh day; and these teachers, having adopted this computation of time, have established Saturday meetings and exercises accordingly. This is very well so far as it goes; but Mr Bingham, the head of the mission, uses, on all other occasions, the christian measure of time; and he does not appear to be a person quietly to let two youths intrude with new ordinances on his *cure*.* Indeed, his own explanation admits the fact, that the meeting was of his own planning, and that having called his people together, he left the choice to themselves.' pp. 145—150.

*'We have learned, by the arrival of persons who visited the islands after us, that the *almost open assumption of power by the mission* had created the greatest jealousy in the minds of the chiefs. The impaired state of Karaimoku's health rendered them very anxious, and seemed to have opened to the mission the hope of reigning in the name of the little king.'

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The Quarterly Reviewer seizes upon the forgoing story with greediness, and repeats it in the following version.

'There was one point, however, on which Lord Byron appears justly to have felt some uneasiness, and this was the tone, manner, and line of conduct of the American missionaries, particularly one of the name of Bingham. The influence which this man had acquired over the simple natives, and his uncalled for interference in petty concerns wholly unconnected with his mission, were but too manifest on several occasions, but never more openly nor more offensively, than when Boki, one Saturday evening, expressed a wish to entertain his countrymen with an exhibition of phantasmagoria. The young king and his sister, with many of the chiefs and people, had assembled to see the show, when, behold! a message was received from this Bingham, "that on so near an approach of the Sabbath, prayer was a fitter employment!" and such was the ascendency which this man had gained, that "the two poor children were carried off in tears, and many of the chiefs and people followed to the missionary meeting." Mr Stewart, another of the missionaries, ashamed of the indecency of such conduct, was anxious to explain the matter, by saying, that they followed the Jewish mode of reckoning, and considered Sunday to begin on Saturday at noon.' No. LXX, p. 438.

We propose to give our readers a brief history of this transaction, as it really took place; but we must anticipate the narrative a little by saying, that, after the exhibition of the magic lantern, about ten o'clock on Saturday evening, Mr Bingham learned, that the attendance of the chiefs had been small. He immediately wrote a letter to Lord Byron, with a view of explaining the misunderstanding, so far as he was able. This letter is printed in the Voyage; for what purpose we cannot divine, as it completely falsifies all the allegations of the voyager, which are worth notice. It is preceded by a paragraph, which we first quote.

'The following is a copy of the letter sent to Lord Byron on this occasion. It is written by the American missionary Bingham. This man is, we have no doubt, *truly zealous in the cause of religion;* but we cannot forbear to remark, that he has in a manner thrust himself into *all the political affairs of the island,* and acts as secretary of state, as governor of the young princes, director of consciences, *comptroller of amusements,* &c. an interference that some may regard as political, *and tending to establish an American interest in the islands,* and others, as produced by circumstances which Mr Bingham has not the prudence to avoid.' p. 111.

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This letter, which the editor denominates 'curious,' appears to us very suitable, and though written in haste, is such as Mr Bingham has no occasion to regret.*

The Quarterly Review says, with an air of infinite self-complacency, speaking of the American missionaries, that 'they have so little judgment, and are so little acquainted with the human heart, as to let their zeal outrun discretion on many occasions and in many shapes; and this,' adds the Reviewer, 'we knew to be the case before now.' It is to be presumed, that the foregoing extracts furnish some of the strongest proofs of the incompetency of the missionaries, which the Reviewer was able to produce; and, in this presumption, we must invite our readers to examine the subject with some attention.

When the Blonde arrived at Honoruru, just five years had elapsed from the first establishment of the mission. Within that time, the missionaries had learned the language without

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* The letter here follows in full.

'*Oahu, Saturday Evening.*

'My Lord,

I take the liberty to address you a line, simply to acquaint you with the ground of a partial misunderstanding this evening. Though we do not regard Saturday evening as belonging to the Sabbath, yet the people have been instructed, both by Mr Ellis and ourselves, to make preparation on Saturday for the proper observance of the Sabbath. A number of chiefs have been accustomed of late to assemble, of their own accord, for social worship among themselves on Saturday evening; and were assembling for that purpose this evening. This will, I hope, account for the apparent reluctance of some of them to receive your truly kind attentions. Several asked our advice; and we told them expressly we would not detain them from the exhibition, which you had kindly proposed to show them, but would have them act their own pleasure.

'This, I assured Mr Ball, was the fact, when he came to my house for Mr Pitt.

'I have taken the liberty to make this explanation, in order to show you, that we would studiously avoid any interference in any of your intercourse with the chiefs; and while I can assure you I entertain a high sense of the honor and the kindness, which you and your honored king and highly favored country have done this nation, I cherish the hope, that those efforts on your part may, in connexion with our feeble exertions, be crowned with happy and complete success.

You will therefore allow me to be,

My Lord,

Very respectfully and sincerely yours,

H. Bingham.'

To the Rt. Hon. Lord Byron.

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those helps, which all their successors will enjoy; adopted an alphabet; reduced to some form, a dialect never before written; taught all the highest chiefs to read and write; printed elementary books; established many schools for children and adults; preached the Gospel to the people in their own tongue; caused them to understand the plain principles of the Bible; impressed upon the minds of these uncivilized hearers some just views of the government of God, the reasonableness and perfection of his laws, and the plan of salvation clearly revealed in the New Testament; and, in short, exerted an influence which seemed likely to bring all the inhabitants into the order and happiness of christian society. Such results had been witnessed by the blessing of God upon incessant labor, endured in the midst of 'weariness and painfulness,' and many privations, in a tropical climate, by men and women, who left inviting situations in their own country, for the sole purpose of raising up pagans and foreigners from the lowest state of debasement, to the dignity of 'fellow-citizens with the saints and members of the household of God.' It would not be amiss for the editor of the 'Voyage' and the Quarterly Reviewer to reflect, that such persons ought not to be impeached before the whole civilized world, unless upon weighty and substantial grounds. And what are the grounds of impeachment, which are spread over so many quarto pages, and transferred, with such scrupulous care, that they should lose nothing, into the widely circulating sheets of the most important review in the British metropolis? When stripped of verbiage, they all amount to the single charge, that on a certain occasion, *one* of these missionaries expressed his opinion, that *prayer was a fitter employment for Saturday evening, than an attendance upon an exhibition of the magic lantern;* and the inferences are, that the missionaries impose an intolerable strictness upon the people; that they interfere in political measures; that they domineer over the chiefs; that they have acquired a threatening influence over the conscience; that, through this influence, they aim at the government of the islands; and that, to crown the whole, they are destitute of common sense. Now we insist, in the name of justice, that this whole string of inferences be stricken out of the indictment. Not one of them follows from the mere fact, that a missionary should think an established religious service a better preparation for the Sabbath, than attending an exhibition of phantasmagoria. Even

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if the expression of such an opinion were erroneous and absurd, still so long a chain of inferences cannot be attached to it. Supposing Mr Bingham had expressed an opinion, which *seemed* rather indiscreet, would not candor require, that all the circumstances of the case should be known, before sentence should be pronounced against him? Is it probable, that the journalist knew these circumstances? and if not, how could he decide whether the alleged opinion were indiscreet, or not? Mr Bingham may have known very little of the manner in which the exhibition had been invited, or of the inconvenience of delaying it? It is said, indeed, by the voyager, that 'Mr Bingham and friends had due notice of it; for that very morning *one of the party* had a long conversation with one of the officers on the subject.' And is this the way of administering justice? Is every member of the mission to be supposed, without any proof, to know every thing, which has been communicated to every other member? Missionaries have many things to do; and, in their numerous avocations, even the proposed exhibition of a magic lantern may have arrested very little of their attention; especially as it was no business of theirs, and they were not even invited to be present.

Again; the voyager could not tell on the spot, nor can we, or the Quarterly Reviewer, tell, how important the religious service was considered by the chiefs, or what consequences were apprehended from their suffering it to be displaced by a mere amusement. But till all these things are known, it is impossible to pronounce a fair and equitable sentence.

The article in the 'Voyage,' and that in the Review, are intended to affect the reputation of the *whole mission;* and this it will do, so far as its representations are credited. But is such a course candid, fair, and honorable? Mr Bingham was but one missionary out of twelve, of whom eight were at that time preachers of the Gospel; and all these preachers, except Mr Stewart and himself, were laboring on other islands. Shall the supposed, or assumed, mistake of *one*, in regard to so small a matter as an evening's amusement, be imputed, as a serious offence to those, who were a hundred miles off, and who, perhaps, will never have heard of the transaction till the Quarterly Review shall meet their eyes?

We have gone thus far upon the admission, that Mr Bingham expressed the opinion imputed to him; but we now deny

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the fact altogether. There is not the slightest proof of it; and Mr Bingham's letter affords a strong presumption against it.

It may be well to state here, as briefly as possible, the real facts and circumstances of the case; and, in making this statement, we shall rely upon the published account of Mr Stewart, and upon verbal communications received from that gentleman, who was personally present with Mr Bingham, at the time of his alleged interference; whereas, neither Mr Bloxam nor Mrs Graham, nor the midshipmen, were thus present.

While Boki and his party were on their passage from England, they were amused with the wonders of the magic lantern; and Boki, apprehending that these wonders would be exhausted, begged that the show might proceed no further; and that some part of it might be preserved for the gratification of his friends at the islands. One Saturday morning, when Kaahumanu, a female of high rank and now principal regent, was breakfasting on board the Blonde, the magic lantern was mentioned, and the inquiry made, when she would like to see the exhibition. She replied, *this evening;* either not reflecting what day of the week it was, or not adverting to the regularly appointed religious services, to which some of the chiefs had recently begun to attend, on Saturday evening.* Not long after, that is, some time in the forenoon, Lord Byron met with Mr Stewart, and informed him of the appointment; to which Mr Stewart made no objection, saying, that he presumed the chiefs would be highly gratified. Not considering the intimation of Lord Byron in the light of an invitation, he did not mention the fact to the other missionaries. What is more remarkable, Kaahumanu did not mention the appointment to any of the chiefs. This omission was probably the result of mere inattention or forgetfulness.

Toward evening the chiefs begun to assemble for their religious service, which had been established and was conducted by themselves alone, and to which some of them were strongly attached. At this moment, the phantasmagoria occurred to the mind of Kaahumanu; and she inquired what was to be done. The general voice was, that the religious service should

* The occasion of the meeting, which interfered with Kaahumanu's appointment, was as follows. Kapiolani and her husband Naihi had recently come down from Hawaii, where a religious meeting for Saturday evening, had been some time established. At their instance, a similar meeting was commenced at Honoruru. The missionaries neither originated nor conducted it, nor were they expected to be present.

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proceed, and the amusement should be deferred till Monday night. A messenger was despatched to Lord Byron; but all was too late. His lordship and suite, with the band of music, were rapidly approaching. The messenger met them at the gate; and, not having received any discretionary orders, cried *tabu*, and shut the gate; as much as to say, *You must not come; all ingress is forbidden.* This was, indeed, quite unceremonious, and not very civil to Lord Byron, who had come by express appointment, and merely out of kindness to do the chiefs a pleasure. It was natural, therefore, that he should speak with some decision, and call upon a native interpreter to know the occasion of such treatment. The native, not being able to speak much English at best, and being greatly disturbed by the apprehension that Lord Byron was displeased, did not express himself intelligibly; but could only say something about *chiefs*, and *prayers*, and *tabu*, and *Sabbath*, and *missionaries*. He probably meant something like this; *that, before the Sabbath, the chiefs were in the habit of attending prayers, or of holding meetings of a similar character with those, which were held by missionaries.* On hearing this explanation, such as it was, Lord Byron thought it very strange, that an appointment of a religious service should be made at such a time, and in such circumstances. The chiefs, seeing him discomposed, and wishing neither to give up a solemn meeting, nor to afford any cause of offence, walked to one of the mission houses, where Mr Bingham and Mr Stewart were together. This was the time, when Mr Bingham is stated by the Quarterly Reviewer to have acted so 'offensively.' On hearing the circumstances of the case, Mr Bingham declined saying more than that he did not think it wrong for those to attend the amusement, who felt disposed to do so; and that he thought it should be left to the inclination of each individual. The chiefs, acting according to this suggestion, went, some of them to the exhibition, and some to the prayer meeting, which was removed at a little distance. Some left the show in disgust, and retired to the prayer meeting. The young king was persuaded to be present at the entertainment, where he witnessed the whole; and with him Karaimoku and Kaahumanu stayed to the close. The minds of the chiefs were discomposed by the various blunders of the evening. Uncivilized men, of all others, do not like to enter upon a party of pleasure by compulsion, or while in a state of disappointment. The young princess would

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not leave her hiding-place; and, as the voyager correctly says, 'the phantasms were played to a thin house.'

It afterwards appeared, that Lord Byron felt more than any thing else the seeming interference between his intended kindness to the natives and a religious service appointed, as he then supposed, by the missionaries. When he became acquainted with all the facts, and learned the true cause of the disappointment, he declared himself, in a note now in the possession of Mr Stewart, to be perfectly satisfied, and added that the transaction had left upon his mind no impression unfavorable to the mission.

After this narrative, let us advert to the errors in the statement of the voyager. It is not true, that 'notice was given, that, on so near an approach of the Sabbath, prayer was a fitter employment;' nor that 'the two poor children were carried away in tears;' nor that 'the chiefs and people followed to the missionary meeting,' as there *was no missionary meeting;* nor that 'Mr Stewart was at some distance,' he being in the house with Mr Bingham; nor that 'a note was sent to him by Mr Bingham,' or any one else, 'to tell him what was going on,' as he was, in fact, the only one of the missionaries who previously knew; nor that he 'advised the missionaries and their congregation to adjourn in a body to the theatre,' as he had no thought of attending the exhibition, and had not even mentioned it to his brethren; nor that he 'explained the matter by a reference to the Jewish Sabbath;' nor that the 'native youths were educated in one of the United States, where the day begins and ends at noon.' Mr Stewart did not even know, till the Reviewer informed him, that the Jewish Sabbath began at Saturday noon, nor that the people in any one of the United States followed the Jews in this respect.

Nor does Mr Bingham's letter admit, 'that the meeting was of his own planning.' On the contrary, it implies that the meeting was planned by others, where it says, that 'a number of chiefs have been accustomed of late to assemble, *of their own accord*, for social worship.' The reference to Mr Ellis, and to the general course of instruction on the subject of preparing for the Sabbath, was doubtless intended to show his lordship, that the idea of a religious meeting of some sort, or in some circumstances, on Saturday evening, was no new thing; and that therefore the chiefs, in commencing and maintaining such a meeting were not acting from mere whim, or

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sudden impulse. Nine or ten errors are rather too many for so short a piece of history. The Reviewer adds to the number by saying, without *even the color of authority*, that Mr Bingham sent a message to the meeting; or, to use his delicate and urbane language, '*Behold! a message was received from this Bingham;*' a most inexorable message, indeed, if, as the Reviewer affirms, 'such was the ascendency which this man had gained, that "the two poor children [the young king of the islands and his sister] were carried off in tears."'

This message, with its appalling consequences to the poor children, and all the portentous evils which were indicated by it, are sheer fabrications.

The voyager says, 'that every body was expected to be there, though Messrs Bingham and friends were not expressly invited;' and his reasons for expecting every body to be present are, 'that it was a public show,' and the missionaries 'certainly had due notice of it.' It is true that Mr Stewart was told by Lord Byron himself, that the magic lantern was to be exhibited *to the natives, at the solicitation of Kaahumanu;* and that he replied, that he thought the natives would be pleased. But does this prove that Mr Stewart *knew* that the show was to be public? or that he was bound to consider this incidental conversation as a notice to attend? And was the show public in fact? Were the sea-captains, and other foreign residents, admitted as a part of the company? The voyager does not say they were; and, if they had been, we think the house would not have been so *thin*, as it is represented to have been.

The indictment preferred against Mr Bingham is, that he interferes with the petty concerns of the natives, by *controlling their amusements, directing their consciences*, &c. The only proof worth mentioning, produced by the voyager, is the letter of Mr Bingham, by which it appears, that he neither controlled the amusements, nor directed the consciences of the chiefs; unless it be a direction of conscience to have said, that it was *not a case of conscience at all*, and that he saw no objection to the chiefs *doing just as they pleased*. The accuracy of the statements in this letter is not doubted by the voyager; and yet he seems to exult in having made out his charge. This is the most remarkable prosecution we ever heard of. The accuser produces no proof in support of his allegation, not a single particle of evidence being brought home to Mr

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Bingham; but he volunteers on the other side, and proves, what no accused party is bound to do in order to his complete defence, *a decided negative of the whole charge.*

About three weeks after this affair, a general council of the chiefs was held, at which the young king was confirmed as the successor of Riho-Riho, a regency was appointed during his minority, some salutary laws approved, and a formal approbation given to missionary labors. Lord Byron, his officers, and the missionaries were present by invitation. The chiefs expressed their opinions at considerable length, the substance of which is given in the 'Voyage.'

'Lord Byron was now called upon to speak, when he presented to Karaimoku and the other chiefs, *a paper containing a few hints* concerning their affairs, which he wished them to look over at their leisure, and if they approved of them, to adopt them as their own, but not as the dictates of the British government, *which had no wish whatever to interfere with the regulations of the chiefs, who must be the best judges of what suited the people.*'

pp. 154, 155.

The wisdom and propriety of Lord Byron's conduct, as exhibited in this paragraph, must be obvious to every person; especially in two particulars, his communicating his thoughts in writing, and his expressly disclaiming any right of himself as an agent of the British government to interfere in the political affairs of the country. It would have been well, if every subsequent visiter of the islands had imitated this truly excellent example.

The transactions of the council, *in regard to the mission*, are not accurately related by the voyage.

'A conversation then ensued among the chiefs on the subject of the missionaries; and Lord Byron was asked if the king of England had any objection to the settling of the American mission in the Islands, and instructing the people. His lordship said that he had heard that the missionaries had an intention of drawing up a *code of laws for the people*, and to this he *decidedly objected;* but so long as these gentlemen did not interfere with the laws or commerce of the country, he could not object to their instructing the natives in reading, and in the christian religion.

'Mr Bingham, in behalf of the mission, stated, that the American missionaries had neither the design nor the wish to interfere with the political or commercial concerns of the nation; being expressly prohibited by their commission, and their public and

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private instructions from their patrons, from any such interference; that they act under the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, incorporated by the legislature of Massachusetts, for the sole purpose of propagating the Gospel among the heathen; that it is not for the mission to give laws to the nation, nor to interfere with the authority of the chiefs, nor to engage in commercial speculations, nor to be known otherwise than as propagators of the Gospel; but, taking the Bible as their guide, their object in residing in these islands is, to enlighten the nation in the doctrines and duties of christianity, that they may obtain its everlasting rewards. This he repeated in the vernacular tongue; and the council then broke up.' pp. 155, 156.

We are authorized by an eye-witness to say, that Lord Byron did not express any suspicion, that the missionaries would interfere with the political affairs of the natives. He was called upon, as a public man, and perhaps unexpectedly, to declare his opinion of the object and designs of the missionaries, and nothing could be more proper than to ask for a public statement of what that object and those designs were. Such a statement was promptly given by the missionaries, in the English language, and in the language of the natives, and a copy in English was handed to Lord Byron. How much use the voyager made of this written statement, or how closely he adhered to it, we do not know. He is perfectly correct, however, in saying, that the missionaries then disclaimed (as they have uniformly done on other occasions) all interference with commercial pursuits or political measures.

Perhaps some of our readers may not see the necessity of disclaiming particular designs, unless these designs were, at the time, imputed to the missionaries. It may be well, therefore, to say, that profligate and interested men, who hated the moral influence of the mission, and wished to plunge the natives into deeper and still deeper debasement, have made such allegations against the missionaries, without the least regard to truth or probability, as would be likely to have an unfavorable effect upon the minds of these ignorant people. Among the various causes of alarm are to be numbered, the design of the missionaries to get the lands of the chiefs, to transfer the islands to the United States, to get political influence, to meddle with commerce, and, especially, the tendency of their measures to *offend the English*, and to *bring upon the islands the displeasure of the British government*. This last cause of

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suspicion was working great evils in the summer of 1822, when it was dissipated by the arrival of the Deputation of the London Missionary Society, who convinced the chiefs, that it was groundless. When Boki arrived in the Blonde, he stated, that the king of England was friendly to the designs of the missionaries; and here was Lord Byron on the spot, a representative of the English government, who might be called upon in public council, to confirm these statements of Boki. The chiefs did not need to be informed what were Lord Byron's private sentiments concerning the mission. They already knew him to be friendly to every social and moral improvement. But they wanted a public declaration, which could be referred to, as a matter of notoriety, for the purpose of repelling future slanders.

After the statement of the missionaries, Lord Byron said, that, so long as they adhered to their instructions, and acted conformably to their professions, they would be highly deserving the patronage and favor of the chiefs and people. His design obviously was, not to intimate any suspicion, that the missionaries would depart from their instructions; but to make *their public declaration* the basis of *his public approval;* and in this manner it becomes every public functionary to act.

The voyager does Lord Byron great injustice, by making him say of the missionaries, '*that he could not object* to their instructing the natives in reading, and in the christian religion.' The fact was, he gave a warm and decided recommendation, founded, as we have said, upon the public declarations, which had just been made.

We have alluded to Boki's report of an interview with the king of England. This took place at Windsor, some weeks after the death of Riho-Riho. Boki stated at the islands, that the king walked with him through many apartments, and talked with him a good deal. Mrs Graham gives the following account of the interview.

'Boki, who had kept a journal during his residence in England, made very full notes of what passed at this audience. Since his return to his native land, he writes, that he has read these notes so often to the different chiefs, that he has become very hoarse. We regret much that a copy of this journal was not procured while Boki was on board of the Blonde.' p. 74.

We are rather incredulous, as to the extent of Boki's notes;

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for he never held the pen of a ready writer. Still he was *able* to write in his own language, though rather clumsily. But whether he wrote down the words of George the Fourth, or not, it is certain that they made a deep impression upon his mind. These words he repeated publicly, and often. He said, that when he inquired of the king, whether preachers were good men, his Majesty answered, 'Yes; and they are men to make others good. I have always some of them by me; for chiefs are not wise like them. We in England were once like the people in your islands; but this kind of teachers came, and taught our fathers; and now you see what we are.' And again; 'You and your people must take good heed to the missionaries; for they were sent to enlighten you and do you good. They came not for secular purposes, but by a divine command, to teach you the word of God. The people would therefore all do well to attend to instruction, and to forsake stealing, drunkenness, war, and everything evil, and to live in peace.' This advice certainly well became the ruler of an enlightened christian nation; and it would be happy, if all the king's subjects would imitate the liberality, which is indicated by this advice of their sovereign.

After all that we have said, respecting the positive errors and misrepresentations of the 'Voyage,' the faults of omission are scarcely less remarkable. There is, in many cases, a studied silence respecting the missionaries, which can only be accounted for, by supposing either the voyager, or the editor, to have been actuated by a most unmanly jealousy towards them; either because they were Americans, or because they were not clergymen of the church of England. The Blonde first touched at Lahaina in Maui, where Boki and his suite first landed. Lord Byron conversed for an hour or two with Mr Richards, the missionary residing there, and made many inquiries respecting the islands and the mission. How natural it would have been for a voyager, who was evidently in the most pressing want of materials, to record some of the information thus collected? How natural for a man, who had been eight months within the sides of a ship, to mention his satisfaction at finding a gentleman of intelligence and education, with whom he could converse on the state of these interesting islands. It is highly probable that Mr Bloxam had something of this kind. It seems scarcely possible it should

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have been otherwise. But not even the name of Mr Richards is mentioned in the book.

After the Blonde had been at Honoruru in Oahu several weeks, and Lord Byron was about to visit Waiakea, on the eastern side of Hawaii, accommodations were kindly afforded to Mr and Mrs Stewart, that they might accompany him in the frigate. The occasion of this polite and generous attention was the ill health of Mrs Stewart, which, it was hoped, might be relieved by a short voyage. During this voyage, of a month in duration, Lord Byron was always affable, and frequently conversed with Mr Stewart in the most free and familiar manner. They went to the volcano together; descended into its immense crater at the same time; and together beheld the terrific glare of its fires by night. Yet no mention is made by the voyager of this generous conduct of his commander; nor is it even intimated, that Mr Stewart was ever on board the Blonde. This is the more strange, as Mr Bloxam and Mr Stewart showed their journals to each other; and Mr Bloxam wrote some complimentary verses, which have appeared in Mr Stewart's journal, as printed in one of our periodical publications.

While at Waiakea, a party was formed to ascend the highest mountain on the island. Mr Goodrich, the missionary of the place, was one of the party. Some of the officers of the Blonde also belonged to it. The rest of the party failing from fatigue and cold, Mr Goodrich continued to ascend, and reached the highest peak alone. This general account is given in the 'Voyage;' but the name of the missionary is suppressed; nor is the nature of the enterprise described. The fact is, that Mr Goodrich performed an exploit, which Baron Humboldt would have celebrated with enthusiasm. He travelled many miles in the night, after leaving his exhausted companions; continued to ascend till the atmosphere was so rare, as almost to forbid further exertion; passed over large tracts of frozen snow, which was so slippery as to make walking dangerous; found difficulty in deciding which was the highest peak; at last succeeded in selecting and climbing it; and there, at three o'clock in the morning, the moon shining brightly, he stood in that sublime solitude, upon the top of a vast cone, rising out of the Pacific to the limits of perpetual congelation. But this was not thought worthy of being mentioned in the 'Voyage;' the small talk, which is introduced

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into that meagre volume, being considered as of more importance.

The last time that Lord Byron was on shore, he breakfasted at Mr Bingham's by invitation. This was perhaps eight weeks after the phantasmagoria, and six after the council, at which so much coldness and jealousy of the mission would seem, from the accounts of the voyager, to have been apparent. At this last interview, on the very day of his leaving the islands, Lord Byron made himself very agreeable; said many civil things; and appeared to enjoy the society around him. Being more acquainted with Mr Stewart, than with any other missionary, he inquired confidentially in private, what, in Mr Stewart's opinion, had been the effect of the visit of the Blonde upon the minds of the chiefs, and the missionaries. This inquiry was frankly answered by the declaration, that a most happy impression had been made, and that Lord Byron would leave the islands with the affectionate respect, the prayers, and the blessing of the missionaries. He replied that, should he arrive safely in England, it would give him pleasure to meet the inquiries of the christian public with a decided testimony to the usefulness and success of the mission. This pledge was honorably redeemed, immediately on his lordship's arrival in London, before a large assembly, the late Joseph Butterworth, M. P. in the chair. Mr Stewart arrived in London soon afterwards, there met Lord Byron, and received from him the same courteous treatment as at the islands. And yet, unless we are mistaken, it does not appear from the 'Voyage,' that this commander *ever deigned to speak to a missionary;* or *that he ever did a kindness to any member of the American mission.*

Nor would it seem, that the chaplain had any more intercourse with the missionaries, than his captain had. Is it possible, that Mr Bloxam should have written a journal, in which there is not a single mention of his having spoken with ministers of the Gospel, who were almost daily in his company for more than two months; and who were employed in the greatest and most honorable labors, to which human agency is ever applied? and when these labors were cheered with prospects of the most encouraging and delightful nature?

There is another strange deficiency in this compilation from the journal of a chaplain. While the Blonde was at the islands, the principal chiefs were proposed as candidates for making a

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public profession of religion, after having long had the subject under consideration, and being thought to give sufficient evidence that they understood, and cordially embraced the great principles of the Gospel. Two of these chiefs, who had the greatest influence, namely, Karaimoku and Kaahumanu, are frequently mentioned in the 'Voyage;' and always in terms of respect. Not a word is said, however, about their religious character, or their knowledge of the New Testament. This is the more remarkable, as Mr Bloxam was on board the frigate with Kaahumanu and her sister Piia during the short voyage which has been mentioned. On the whole, the chaplain either had a singular taste, as to the selection of interesting facts to be entered in his journal, or the best part of his lucubrations has been omitted.

The voyager, for the sake of telling a good story, has related, in very glowing language, the visit of a chief woman, Kapiolani, to the crater of the great volcano; and the Reviewer, being ignorant of all the principal facts and circumstances, has made this story the foundation of a series of remarks, designed not only to disparage the labors of the missionaries, but to cover their characters with contempt. We cannot afford room for quoting the obnoxious passages; but affirm that the whole is a misrepresentation.

It is worthy of notice, that when missionary attempts are just beginning, the general opinion of philosophical writers seems to be, that *nothing can be done;* that the superstitions of the heathen are so inveterate, and their minds so besotted and obtuse, and the customs of fifty generations so irresistible, that it would be vain to attempt a reformation. The condition of these ancient nations cannot be altered. The children must be like the fathers, through all the future ages of the world. But when, after years of patient toil, and many discouragements, a moral revolution has been effected; after the debased idolater, and the cruel savage, have been raised to the dignity and comfort of civilized life, and brought under the pure and holy influence of religious truth, it is then found out, that this mighty transformation is one of the easiest things that was ever conceived of. The change itself is ascribed to some trifling cause; and the missionaries, far enough from receiving any credit for what they have done, are unmercifully chastised for not having done more, in less time, and in a more easy, rational, and agreeable manner. It were to be wished,

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that cold, unfeeling critics, who sneer at the labors of missionaries without knowing anything about them, would set the world an example of what they, in the plenitude of their wisdom, could accomplish. This they have not yet condescended to do; but there are multitudes of men, on whom they could make the experiment; and every philanthropist will rejoice to see light beaming forth from any quarter, however unexpected.

In one of the quotations, which we have made from the 'Voyage,' much is said of the strict observance of the Sabbath, and of the unauthorized and unreasonable requirements of the missionaries. We have a strong suspicion, that these charges were compiled in London, not from anything written by Mr Bloxam, or the midshipmen; but that they were derived from a source entirely independent of the Blonde. Our principal reasons are, that none of the officers of that frigate were known to entertain or express opinions so entirely at variance with fact, as those in the paragraph alluded to; but an individual now residing at the islands has frequently, since the Blonde left them, made numerous statements of the same general nature with these, and distinguished equally by a settled hostility to the mission, and a total disregard of truth. But let us recur to the charges. It is said, in substance,

1. That the missionaries induce the natives to observe the Sabbath with unnecessary rigor. The only proof adduced is, that the natives are forbidden to make a fire for cooking on that sacred day. Mr Stewart has sufficiently explained that matter by saying, that the work of preparing food and cooking it, is the work of a large part of a day. This work is not ordinarily performed by the people more frequently than once in three, four, or five days; and therefore it is obviously proper that it should not be performed on the Sabbath. The missionaries do indeed desire, that the Sabbath should be consecrated to those religious purposes, for which it was designed.

2. The missionaries are said to '*insist on their proselytes appearing at church five times every day.*' Were it not that this charge is carefully distinguished from the one, which relates to the Sabbath, we should be inclined to the charitable conclusion, that the writer intended, by the phrase *every day*, no more than *every day of religious worship*, that is, *every sabbath*. But, as the words now stand, such a construction cannot be admitted. It would not be true, indeed, if it were confined to the Sabbath; but the falsehood would not have

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been so glaring. Did the writer expect to be believed, when he said, that the missionaries *insisted* on their proselytes appearing at church *thirtyfive times a week?* Mr Stewart says, there were but three public meetings in a week, designed for the people generally; namely, two on the Sabbath, and one on Wednesday evening. Beside these assemblages, there were Sabbath schools, catechetical exercises, and various other more retired meetings, as in Great Britain and America. As to the reasons, which the voyager puts into the mouths of the missionaries, it is superfluous to remark, that they have received a coloring, which destroys their identity. Something may have been said, which was taken as the occasion of these apologies; but in so different a connexion, and with so different an application, as to make the use of them here an utter perversion.

We have now done with the 'Voyage,' and shall direct the attention of our readers for a few moments to the Reviewer. He does not confine himself to the Voyage of the Blonde, but has had access to letters of Captain Beechey, commander of the sloop of war Blossom, who touched at the islands in the spring of 1826, on his way to meet captain Franklin, beyond Bering's Strait. This captain is said to be a man of intelligence; but, owing to his national prejudices, or some other cause, he was most egregiously imposed upon by the individual, to whom many slanders against the missionaries can be directly traced. We speak advisedly here; for we can prove in a court of justice, that some of the stories, told by Captain Beechey, were told before his arrival at the islands, *and in the same words*, by the individual referred to; and what is more, we can prove the stories to be utterly false.

The substance of Captain Beechey's charges is, that the missionaries, by the multiplicity of their religious observances, are withdrawing the people from agricultural labors, and thus leading them into poverty, misery, and civil war. Now it might have been well if the captain had inquired, whether, in the history of the human race, it has ever occurred that learning to read and understand the Bible has produced such effects as these. But let us examine his facts. 'Thousands of acres of land,' says he, 'that before produced the finest crops, are now sandy plains.'

The mission began to exert a considerable influence in the year 1824, about two years before Captain Beechey's arrival.

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This is rather a short time for producing an effect so deleterious, as to change a fruitful country into sandy plains. But it happens, that all the sandy plains seen by Captain Beechey, or his informer, have been in the same situation as at present for many years. Some of them are mentioned by voyagers in the year 1804, which was sixteen years before the arrival of the first missionaries. There is no doubt that more land was formerly cultivated than at present, and that the islands were far more populous than now. There is as little doubt, that the depopulation was occasioned by the original vices of the people, greatly aggravated by the vices derived from Englishmen in the first instance, and Americans afterwards. If this depopulation should continue, it will not be owing to the Bible, or the missionaries, but to the opposition of abandoned white men to the only principles, which are of sufficient efficacy to redeem and save a sinking people.

Probably Captain Beechey does not know, that the natives, before the missionaries arrived, were accustomed to spend whole weeks together, congregated by thousands, for public games and dances, during which seasons of revelry, the most disgusting licentiousness prevailed. Is it credible, that such a people should be rendered more idle and improvident, by exchanging their games of chance for reading and writing, and their public dances for the intelligent worship of the true God?

Again, we are told by the captain, that 'provisions are so extremely scarce, that not long since the king sent to beg a little bread of the American consul.' It is curious to observe what sort of evidence is here relied on. The king, a boy thirteen years old, asked of an American a little bread, a foreign article; and this is to prove an extreme scarcity of provisions! Suppose one of the English nobility, who once lived at Rome, or Naples, but who now resides in London, should send to one of his acquaintance, and beg a little vermicelli, would it prove the existence of famine in the British metropolis? Mr Stewart expresses the opinion, that the present king, boy as he is, has never seen a day, since he received the title of king, in which he could not immediately provide for a thousand men.

During the year 1826, the port of Honoruru was visited by more than a hundred foreign vessels, many of them having large crews, and staying one, two, and three months. After long voyages, the men consume large quantities of fresh

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provisions, vegetables, and fruits; and, on going to sea, they take from forty to sixty barrels of potatoes, taro, &c. for each vessel. It would not be strange, if, in such circumstances, there should be a scarcity of those provisions, which are most in demand; especially when it is considered, that the people have never been encouraged to industry, by having the fruits of their labor at their own disposal. But what is the fact? In the year 1822, the mission had produced little effect upon the mass of the people. The same port was visited that year by less than fifty vessels. The price of provisions was dearer than at any time since; and almost twice as dear, as at the time when Captain Beechey was predicting a famine. Christianity is now pleading for the rights of the common people, and inducing the chiefs to be mild, and merciful, and just to them; and, in this way, unless the benevolent designs of the missionaries are frustrated by ill disposed foreigners, the encouragement to industry will be so great, as to secure an abundance of the productions of the soil. This, while it essentially aids the natives in the process of civilization, will afford a most grateful supply to the numerous ships which traverse the Pacific.

The Reviewer supposes, that the idleness, poverty, misery, and the forebodings of future evil, so strongly described by Captain Beechey, were brought upon the poor simple natives, by the missionaries having preached against neglecting *the one thing needful;* thus inducing the people to spend all their time in religious pursuits, and leaving no time for the concerns of this world.

Again, says the Reviewer, 'the apprehension of civil war, expressed by Captain Beechey, appears to be owing to another text of Scripture, which says, that in the kingdom of heaven none is before or after another, none is greater or less than another; which, as the American teachers apply and expound it, is exactly to tell these poor creatures, that "all men are equal," a doctrine which Mr Bingham's countrymen are more ready to preach than to practise.' The Reviewer has not given us chapter and verse for the text, that prompted to so mischievous and seditious an exposition; which is the more to be regretted, as, in the course of our reading the Bible, we have never fallen upon any such passage of Scripture. But is the Reviewer seriously afraid, that men should be taught that they have rights? The Gospel has delivered many

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nations from cruel bondage; but it has never yet enslaved any, nor authorized or prompted sedition and violence. Its pacific tendency has already been felt at the islands, in more instances than one.

As to Captain Beechey's stories about Tahiti and Tubuai, they are all second hand, and were coined in the same mint with the others. He was so far imposed upon, as to believe that many of these islanders had died, because they were too lazy to cook oftener than once a week, and were therefore in the habit of eating sour food. This produced 'complaints in the stomach, and carried them off.' Such is the story. The fact is, however, that the Sandwich Islanders, and probably other islanders of the Pacific, keep their food, till it has fermented, because they prefer it in this state. And as to health, there probably is not a more nutritious diet in the world, than that of the people at the Sandwich Islands, of which sour *poi* (an esculent vegetable, cooked, pounded, made into paste, and fermented) is the principal article. The chiefs, who always have an abundance of this food, are men of enormous size. We are informed in the 'Voyage,' that Kuakini (John Adams) then only twenty-seven years old, weighed three hundred and sixty-four pounds, avoirdupois. He is six feet three inches high, and so well proportioned as not to have the appearance of great corpulency. Several of the chief women are said to weigh more than three hundred pounds each; and yet they have been eating sour *poi* all their lives.

After all, Captain Beechey 'admits,' says the Reviewer, 'that the missionaries are entitled to every credit, for having succeeded in abolishing human sacrifices and the prevailing crime of infanticide.' Indeed! Entitled to every credit! And shall not those, who have shown themselves capable of accomplishing the greater, do something toward accomplishing the less? Will men, who have weakened, and finally broken the bands of a depraving superstition, and raised up the most abject of their race to dignity and virtue, be found inadequate to the task of inculcating the duties of social and civil life? It would not have been amiss, if Captain Beechey and the Reviewer had patiently inquired what the missionaries had done, and in what manner they had done it, before they were stigmatized as wanting in common sense.

There are, in the course of the Review, several glowing descriptions of the good done by missionaries, in numerous

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islands of the Pacific; but they were *native missionaries*, sent from islands, previously converted to christianity, to other islands remaining in their idolatrous state. They were instructed, however, and fitted for their work by missionaries of European origin; and this should have led to some favorable conclusions respecting the labors of those, who first introduced christianity into Polynesia.

The Reviewer, taking the hint from a passage in the 'Voyage,' which we have already quoted, commends the example of the Moravians, and eulogizes their labors, at the expense of all other missionary efforts. We are very sure that these writers have not a higher opinion of the Moravians, and their persevering and faithful exertions, than we have long entertained. It has, however, been the fashion of late, with those who dislike missions generally, to praise the Moravians highly, on two accounts, which are set forth as peculiar to them; namely, their declining to preach the higher points of doctrine, and their teaching their converts to be industrious. The title of these good missionaries to praise for the first reason, is more than questionable; for no men were ever more assiduous in proclaiming what they deemed the peculiar doctrines of christianity. On these they build their hope of success; and they fortify themselves by the results of experience, now extended nearly through a century. Their industry is indeed worthy of high commendation; and though it may not have been surpassed, it has been successfully imitated by missionaries of several other denominations.

If the Moravians had attempted to benefit the Sandwich Islanders, they would have labored to make piety, temperance, justice, purity of mind, and chastity, as well as industry, universal. Had they succeeded according to their desire, no lewd, abandoned, fraudulent visiter, could have touched at the islands, with the least hope of gratifying his brutal or selfish desires. And how would this state of things have been relished? Would it not have called forth slander, abuse, misrepresentation, and malignant opposition? The Moravians have not been without experience of these evils. In the course of the last century, among other enterprises of benevolence, they commenced a mission to the Indians, in the borders of what is now one of the United States. Here they were traduced and vilified by their white neighbors, almost as much as Mr Bingham and his associates have been slandered at the Sand-

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wich Islands. The Moravians were also accused of interfering in politics; and this brought great odium and severe persecution upon them; though the charge was utterly groundless.

We will here take occasion to say a word on the manner in which the islands of the Pacific became inhabited. It is found that the natives of Polynesia, from New Zealand to the Sandwich Islands, are one people, having the same manners and customs, and speaking the same language; and this fact is sufficient to silence forever the infidel objection, that mankind could not have descended from one pair, because the different parts of the earth could not have been thus peopled. If the islands of the Pacific, whose inhabitants are all ignorant savages, are descended from a common stock, as they certainly are, we need not be greatly troubled about the alleged impossibility of peopling any part of the world with the descendants of Noah. The question *how* these islands were first settled, is not very easy of solution. Tradition is nearly silent respecting it. History discloses nothing. The Reviewer is not at all puzzled, however, with any difficulties of the case. After deciding that the people are oriental, he says, 'their dispersion over the Pacific is easily accounted for, by the constant easterly winds, which at various times, and in various directions, may have blown fishing canoes from the Asiatic islands to those scattered over the Pacific, and from one of these islands to another; which last accident, indeed, is constantly happening at the present day.' Let no man despair of a theory to suit any exigency after this. The *constant easterly winds*, which are commonly called trade winds, have, it would seem, the astonishing property of blowing canoes from the west to the east; so that, by this new species of attraction, these canoes, against the will of their owners, against the waves and currents, and *against the winds themselves*, have traversed the wide Pacific, and carried the ancestors of the present inhabitants to every island.

Just before the number of the Quarterly Review, containing the article on the Sandwich Islands, issued from the press, a letter was received in London, which, as it reïterates the charges against the American missionaries, the Reviewer was very eager to introduce, though at the distance of more than a hundred pages from the principal article. The letter purports to have been written by Boki, governor of Oahu, and brother of Karaimoku. It is unquestionably a forgery, and a very glaring

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one; though the Reviewer pledges himself that it is genuine. The letter and the introductory paragraph are as follows;

'Since the preceding pages have been struck off, we have been favored with the following literal copy of a letter of Boki (which we pledge ourselves to be genuine), confirming what we have stated with regard to the conduct of the American missionaries at the Sandwich Islands.

Islands of Woahoo, Jan. 24, 1826.

'Sir,—I take this opportunity to send you thes fu lines, hopping the will find you in good health, as ples god the leve me at present. I am sorrey to inform You that Mr Pitt (Karaimakoo) has gon thro four opperashons since you sailed from here, but thank god he is now much better, and we ar in hops of his recovery, and I am verey sorey to tell you that Mr Bingham the head of the Misheneres is trieng evere thing in his pour to have the Law of this country in his own hands. all of us ar verry happy to have sum pepel to instruct us in what is rite and good but he wants us to be entirly under his laws, which will not do with the natives. I have don all in my pour to prevent it and I have don it as yet, Ther is Cahomano wishes the Misheneres to have the whol atority but I sholl prevent it as long as I cane, for if the have their will be nothing done in thes Ilands not even cultivation, for ther own use. I wish the peppel to reid and to rite and likewise to worke, but the Misheneres have got them night and day old and young so that ther is verrey little don her at present. The pepel in general ar verrey much discetisfied at the Misheneres thinking they will have the laws in their own hands. Captain Charlton has not arived from Otiety which makes me think sumthing has hapned to him. Mr Bingham has gone so far as to tell thes natives that nether king George nor Lord Biron has any regard for God, or aney of the English cheefs, that they are all bad pepel but themselves, and that there is no Redemsion for aney of the heads of the English or American nations. God send you good health and a long life.

'Mrs Boki sends her kind love to Lord Biron and Mr Camrone and the Hon. Mr Hill.

(Signed) NA-BOKI.'

We do not suppose, that the Reviewer suspected this lettor of being a forgery; but, with a moderate share of perspicacity, he *would* have suspected it; and the least suspicion should have prevented its publication. With what contempt would the Quarterly Reviewers look upon a Greek or Latin epistle which should be vouched for, as having been written in

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the days of Xenophon or Cicero, but which, on the slightest examination, should prove a literal translation of a modern English letter, such as an ordinary youth of fifteen would now write on a common subject? What would they think of a letter written by a Frenchman, represented as so ignorant of the English language as not to be able to spell it, and yet expressing himself entirely in the English idiom, without a single word or phrase, that indicated a foreign origin? But neither the Greek, the Latin, nor the French is so different from the English, in idiom and train of thought, as is the Sandwich Island tongue.

The only disguise of the letter under consideration is bad spelling, which is really no disguise at all; for a half instructed foreigner would learn to spell the English language right much sooner, than he would learn to use words in their proper meaning, or to form them into proper phrases and sentences. A foreigner learns to spell by the eye, and therefore he spells correctly the new language which he is writing. He consults his memory, or his dictionary, well knowing that the ear is to him no guide at all. What Englishman, for instance, ever undertook to spell the French language merely from hearing it spoken? This is not mere theory. We have seen numerous letters written by imperfectly educated foreigners; and the spelling is uniformly, in such cases, much more correct than the composition,—the use of words, the arrangement, the idiomatical phrases. Since the article in the Quarterly Review appeared, a respectable clergyman has shown us an original letter, written by a youth from the Sandwich Islands, who was then under the tuition of several students in the Theological Seminary in Andover. The occasion was this. Mr Mills, whose name is dear to every friend of missions and of Africa, was absent from Andover, and had just been afflicted by the death of a beloved mother. The youth in question had received much kindness from the mother and the son, and was advised to write a letter of condolence; which he did, in the following words; in copying which we shall follow his spelling, punctuation, and use of capitals.

'Andover January 1810. Dear Sir. Mr. Samuel J. Mills. Now I no Father and no mother. and your mother very good to me. now I hope she go to God. so I mind what she say so I must be a good man if I come to good man I hope I see her again. she

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very kind to me now I lost my mother and my friend your mother. Behold I am not feel very well. I am,

HENRY OBOOKIAH.'

In the pretended letter of Boki, the whole is English, as to thought, style, and idiom; and even the errors in spelling are those into which an illiterate Englishman would fall, but which are very different from the errors of an ignorant foreigner. It is obvious, also, that no person would speak of his own people as 'the natives,' and 'these natives;' nor would he speak of them as a party, or a community, distinct from himself.

These things are plain to any reflecting man, though he may know nothing of Boki, except that he is a Sandwich Island chief. But the Reviewer had been treating of a book, in which there is no proof that Boki ever spoke English, while there is frequent mention of the *interpreter* for the party, while they were in London. To those, who are intimately acquainted with the state of things at the islands, it is known, that if Boki had written the letter, he would have spelled the proper names in his own language rightly. Four of these occur, and not one of them is rightly spelled; though all the natives, who have learned to write, are in the constant habit of spelling them correctly. In the spelling of these four names, there are *thirteen* mistakes, nearly all of them such as Englishmen and Americans actually make; the natives never; because they use an alphabet, which preserves them from the ordinary causes of error in spelling other languages. The English names, Pitt, Bingham, Charlton, George, and Hill, are all spelled correctly; which is singular enough for a writer, who could not spell his brother's name, in his own language, without making two mistakes.

But to bring the matter to a close at once; Boki cannot understand, or speak English, except a little, in short broken sentences, on the most common subjects. He transacts all business with Englishmen and Americans, by the aid of interpreters; and his ignorance of the English language is so well known to all, that, in the autumn of 1826, plain sentences, uttered by Captain Jones of the United States navy, were designedly misinterpreted to him in public, and without any fear that he would detect the error. Nor was he able to do it. Had it not been for the kind interposition of Providence, much injury would have resulted from these attempts to deceive him.

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As to *writing* English, the thought never entered Boki's mind. He never learned to *read* it; and such parts of sentences as, 'trying everything in his power to have the law of this country in his own hands,'—'nothing done in these islands, not even cultivation for their own use;'—'no redemption for any of the heads of the English or American nations,'—would be utterly beyond his comprehension, if written by another.

It is highly probable, that the letter was signed by Boki, a specious account having been given him of its contents. There are strong reasons for thinking, that it was antedated six or eight months, in order to render the imposition more effectual.

If such a forgery were committed merely as a matter of sport, without any malicious intention, it would be extremely reprehensible; but what act can be more dishonorable or wicked, than to make a deliberate fabrication the vehicle of false charges, the object and tendency of which are to prejudice the world against the exertions of men, who have made no ordinary sacrifices in devoting their lives to a most arduous task, and thus materially to impede a work, upon which the moral and intellectual progress, the present and future happiness, of many tribes and nations are depending?

ART. IV.—*Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus; No. I,* THE MRICHCHAKATI, *or* THE TOY CART; a Drama. *No. II,* VIKRAMA AND URVASI, *or* THE HERO AND THE NYMPH; a Drama. Translated from the original Sanscrit by HORACE HAYMAN WILSON, Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. 8vo. pp. 204 and 105. Calcutta, 1826.

MR WILSON appears, either by way of Introduction to these Specimens, or in some separate work, to have written *A General View of the Hindu Dramatic System*, principally derived from the *Das'a Rúpaka*, which we take to be a Sanscrit work on the same subject. This 'General View' we have not had the advantage of seeing, and are consequently obliged to review these translations, without the light it would no doubt have afforded us.

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The knowledge of the Sanscrit drama was first imparted to the nations of Europe, by Sir William Jones. Before his arrival in India, it was not known that the Hindu literature was enriched with that species of composition. Sir William informs us, in the preface to Sacontalá,* that his attention was first called to the subject, by a passage in the *Lettres Edifiantes*, to the following effect;—'that in the north of India, there are many books called *Nátac*, which, as the Brahmans assert, contain a large portion of ancient history, without any mixture of fable.' It was some time before Sir William could find out what the nature of these *Nátacs* was. 'At length,' says he, 'a very sensible Brahman, named Rádhácánt, who had long been attentive to English manners, removed all my doubts, and gave me no less delight than surprise, by telling me that our nation had compositions of the same sort, which were publicly represented at Calcutta, in the cold season, and bore the name, as he had been informed, of *plays*.'

Sir William Jones expresses the opinion, that dramatic literature must have been extremely ancient in the Indian empire, inasmuch as the invention of it is usually ascribed to Bharat, 'a sage believed to have been inspired.' The name, by which India is called by the natives of that country, *Bharata-vashta*, would seem, in fact, to indicate a connexion between this inspired dramatist, and the very *incunabula* of the Hindu people. Sir William, however, considerately adds, that this opinion of the origin of the Hindu drama is rendered very doubtful, by the universal belief, that the first Sanscrit verse ever heard by mortals, was pronounced, in a burst of resentment, by the great Válmic, who flourished in the silver (antediluvian) age of the world. He adds also, in additional derogation from the claims of Bharat, as the inventor of the Indian drama, the following 'wild story,' as he calls it, of the production of the first regular Sanscrit play. It was composed by Hanumat or Pávan (a singular *alias*) 'who commanded an army of Satyrs, or Mountaineers, in Ráma's expedition against Lancá. It is added, that he engraved it on a smooth rock, which (being dissatisfied with his composition) he hurled into the sea; and that, many years after, a learned prince ordered expert divers to take impressions of the poem on wax, by which means the drama was in a great measure restored.'—'My

* Sir William Jones's Works, VI. 203. Quarto edition.

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pandit,' continues Sir William Jones, 'assures me, that he is in possession of it.' Considering its history, one might look in honest Hanumat's play, for some specimens of the bathos.

The publication before us contains the translation of two Sanscrit plays, which, with the 'Sacontalá' of Cálidása, already translated by Sir William Jones, are the only entire specimens, we believe, of the Hindu theatre, which are before the public. Of these two plays, the second, *Vikrama and Urvasí*, is also the production of Calidasa, 'the Shakespeare of India;' but as *The Mrĭchchakati*, or *The Toy Cart*, is contained in the first number, and is the performance of a poet not hitherto introduced to the western world, we shall make it the first subject of remark.

The introduction of *The Toy Cart* itself ascribes the composition to a royal bard, Sudraka by name. The first question that arises then, in order to ascertain the age of this drama is, when did his sacred majesty Sudraka reign. As the solution of this question presents a pretty good specimen of the manner, in which points of Hindu, and we may add, Chinese antiquity, are sometimes settled, we shall enter a little more particularly into it.

Although 'the name of Sudraka,' we are told, 'is very celebrated in Hindu history,' yet it is a matter of controversy, whether he lived one hundred years before, or one thousand years after, the christian era! It seems to be admitted, that he preceded Vicramáditya (we use Sir William Jones's orthography, Dow and Polier read it Bickermagit*), but whether it be the Vicramaditya, who died fifty-six years before our Savior, and whose death is the beginning of an era in India, or another king of the same name, who flourished in the eleventh century of the christian era, is questioned.

Colonel Wilford, however, is satisfied with neither date, and assigns another of his own, to the royal dramatist, to whom we are indebted for *The Toy Cart*, namely, the year of our Savior 192. Colonel Wilford's deduction of this date deserves quoting as a chronological curiosity. It is almost as good as Lord Shaftesbury's descent from king Pepin. It is as follows. Puliman, the last king of Magadha, of the Andhra dynasty, died A. D. 648, and *is said* to have reigned 456 years after the first king of the same dynasty, who must

*Heeren's Ideen. Th. I. Abth. II. s. 407.

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accordingly have flourished A. D. 192. Now *it is said*, that in one of the very ancient religious books of the Hindus, there is this *prophecy;* that in the year of the *Kali* 3,300 minus 10, a great king (it appears not where) would reign, named *Sudraka*. The year of the Kali 3292, is A. D. 192; hence *Sudraka* is the king already alluded to, as the first king of Magadha of the Andhra race. It is true, this founder of the Andhra dynasty is, in the Hindu *histories*, called by a totally different name; but then as the Hindu prophecies *foretold*, that Sudraka would reign about the same time, there is no doubt, according to Colonel Wilford, that we possess, in *The Toy Cart*, a play in ten acts, really written by the individual, who deposed the last sovereign of the Kanwa family, and reigned over Magadha in his stead.

It is with some concern, after we have thus been at the trouble of fixing his majesty's era, that we are informed by Mr Wilson that there is 'but one prince so named, *of any note*, in the annals of the Hindus.' That it was written by *the* one, who is so remarkably notorious, as to have the period of his reign unsettled, by about eleven centuries, does not appear.

The only additional fact communicated with respect to the author of this piece, is the duration of his reign, which extended, *it is said*, to one hundred years, and which terminated by what is courteously styled 'voluntary cremation.' In plainer phrase, it appears that his majesty, soon perplexed with the cares of empire, after reigning but a single century, burned himself to death; a striking instance of want of ambition! There are few of his majesty's predecessors of that age of the world in India, who did not cling to their sceptres, their three and four hundred years. Our royal bard, at the close of a poor century, takes himself off; not indeed 'throwing a firebrand into the Magadha empire,' but lying down peaceably upon his own funeral pyre.

But it is time to pass from the king himself to the burning words of his tragedy. After a solemn benediction in the name of Seeva, the manager enters on the stage, and apprizes the audience, that his company are prepared to enact the drama entitled *The Toy Cart*. This name arises from an incident in the play, to which we shall allude in its place. He informs the audience, that 'there was a poet, whose gait was that of an elephant, whose eyes resembled those of the partridge, whose countenance was like the full moon, who was of stately per-

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son, amiable manners, and profound veracity, well versed in the *Rig* and *Sáma Védas*, in mathematical sciences, in the elegant arts, and the management of elephants.' After this glowing description of the author of the play, the manager proceeds in part to open its plot to the audience.

In Avanti (the modern Ougein, the capital of Scindiah) lived a young Brahman of distinguished rank and excellent character, but reduced to poverty; his name was *Chárudatta*. A lady (sustaining the same relation to society in Avanti, that Aspasia did in Athens), *Vasantaséná* by name, becomes enamored of Charudatta, and, although the worthy Brahman already enjoys the blessing of a faithful and virtuous wife, the business of the play is to effect an additional union (which the manners of India permit) between Vasantasena and Charudatta.

After hinting at this plot, the manager enters into a dialogue with one of the actresses, and subsequently with one of the characters of the piece, *in propriâ personâ*, and then goes off. By way of illustrating the dramatic taste of the Hindus, it may be observed, that the greater part of the prelude has no possible connexion with the play; not even *such* a connexion, as that which the 'Induction,' that precedes the 'Taming of the Shrew,' has to the body of that comedy.

The play opens with a dialogue between the impoverished Brahman, Charudatta, and his friend *Maitreya*, the *Gracioso*, or, as the Hindu criticism styles it, the *Vidúshaka* of the piece, a character of mixed shrewdness and simplicity, with an affectionate disposition. Charudatta, while engaged in the performance of the evening sacrifice, falls into a lamentation with Maitreya on the evils of poverty. They are interrupted by the sound of pursuing voices, and Vasantasena the beautiful, wealthy, and virtuous courtezan, the heroine of the piece, rushes upon the scene, in front of Charudatta's house, followed by *Samst'hánaka* (the brother-in-law of the Rajah, an ignorant, frivolous, and cruel coxcomb), who, enamored of Vasantasena, and attended by his tutor, a Parasite (the *Vita* of the Hindu stage), and a servant, are pursuing her through the streets. This lady, having seen Charudatta, in the court of a temple, had conceived a strong attachment for him, of which, however, Charudatta himself was ignorant; as was Vasantasena that she had been pursued to the door of the man, who had inspired her with the tender passion. In the dialogue, which takes place between Vasantasena and her

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pursuers, the former incidentally learns, that she is in front of of Charudatta's dwelling; and, as it is now the dusk of the evening, she immediately escapes into it, thus eluding their pursuit. To account to Charudatta for this visit, and at the same time to ensure a farther intercourse, Vasantasena tells him, that she has been pursued by robbers, for the sake of her jewels, which she accordingly begs him to accept, for safe keeping; and then to conduct her home. This Charudatta accordingly does, but not till he had learned (in a scene with the pursuers without the door), what before he was ignorant of, that he was the object of Vasantasena's affections. The first act closes with Charudatta's return from conducting Vasantasena home.

The second act opens with a scene curiously illustrating the Hindu manners. A *Samvâhaka* (or joint-kneader) an important personage in the bathing establishments of the East, having lost at play ten *suvernas*, which he cannot pay, escapes by flight from the gaming house, pursued by the master of the house and the gamester to whom he had lost the money. To elude their pursuit, he walks *backwards*, like Cacus, into an open temple, and places himself on a pedestal, as the deity of the temple. The pursuers enter, and immediately recognise him. Not daring, however, to force him from the sanctuary, they shake and pinch him, affecting to think him an image of wood or stone. This scene doubtless gave no little scope for the practical wit of the Hindu stage. In order to lure the Samvahaka from his stand, the gamesters sit down on the floor, and begin to throw their dice for a stake. The poor Samvahaka, like a warhorse who hears the trumpet, unable to resist the tempting sound of the dice, proves too soon, that he had not yet 'forgot himself to marble,' and leaps from his pedestal, to watch the progress of the game. He falls of course into the hands of his merciless creditors, and being unable to acquit his debt to them, is carried off to be sold to slavery; the Hindu form of *mesne* process. While they are carrying him off for this purpose, another gamester, *Darduraka*, comes in; takes pity on the sad plight of the Samvahaka; picks a quarrel with his creditors; and in the *mêlée*, gives the Samvahaka a chance to escape for his life; which he does to the house of Vasantasena, near which these occurrences take place.

Having entered the house and the presence of this lady,

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and having received her promise of protection, never denied to a suppliant in the East, the Samvahaka effectually secures to himself the favor of Vasantasena, by disclosing the fact, that he had been in the service of Charudatta, before the decline of this person's fortunes. The love, which the lady bears to Charudatta, makes her eager to be useful to the Samvahaka, his former servant; and hearing, without doors, the clamors of his pursuers, she sends a jewel to them, in the name of the Samvahaka, and in acquittance of his debt. Disgusted with the occurrences, which had befallen him at the gaming table, the Samvahaka avows his determination to abandon the worldly life he had hitherto led, and become a mendicant, or wandering devotee of the faith of Budha,—a faith not as yet proscribed in Hindustan.

At the commencement of the third act, Charudatta and his friend Maitreya are represented as returning from a concert, the former in ecstacies at the voice of a skilful singer *Rebhila;* while Maitreya expresses himself in a manner calculated to lead one to suppose, there was the same difference among men, as to the taste for music, under king Sudraka, three or four thousand years ago, that there is in this transatlantic republic at the present day;

'Now for me,' says this surly censor, 'there are two things, at which I cannot but laugh; a woman reading Sanscrit, and a man singing a song. The woman snuffles, like a young cow, when the rope is first put into her nostrils; and the man wheezes, like an old Pundit, who has been repeating his bead roll, till the flowers of his chaplet are as dry as his throat. To my seeming it is vastly ridiculous.'

After something more in this strain, and after Charudatta has particularly entrusted Maitreya with the charge of Vasantasena's casket of jewels, the two Brahmans drop asleep. While they are asleep, a dissipated blade, named *Servillaka*, breaks in upon the scene, on a burglarious errand, and adroitly plunders the sleeping Maitreya of the casket of jewels; which he designs as a present for *Madanikâ*, the handmaiden of Vasantasena, with whom he is in love, and whose freedom he hopes to purchase with this treasure. A servant soon enters, who, discovering the robbery, awakens her master and his friend. Charudatta is of course dismayed at the loss of the rich casket, which he had received as a pledge, and which, in consequence of his poverty, he fears it will be thought he has him-

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self secreted. The servant carries back to her mistress, the wife of Charudatta, the tale of her master's sorrow, at the loss of the casket; and this excellent lady immediately determines to give up to her husband a string of diamonds, the last remnant of her bridal treasures, to enable him therewith to make some compensation to Vasantasena, for the loss of her jewels. With this string of diamonds, accordingly, Maitreya is sent, in the name of Charudatta, to the house of Vasantasena, with the message, that Charudatta, having rashly engaged in play and lost the casket at the gaming table, was now desirous of making compensation with a string of jewels.

Meantime, however, and before this errand is performed, Servillaka, the *innamorato* of Vasantasena's handmaiden, having, as we have seen, stolen the casket, comes and presents it to the said maiden, Madanika, in order that with it she may purchase her freedom of her mistress Vasantasena. On his acquainting Madanika with the manner of acquiring the casket, the latter, immediately recognising it as the property of her mistress, confided to Charudatta, easily convinces Servillaka of the necessity of returning it, either to her lady or Charudatta; and between them they devise the plan, that Servillaka should pretend to be a messenger sent by Charudatta to restore it to her. While this little device is arranging, Vasantasena, unknown to the lovers, overhears it all, from the upper part of the room. Thus let into the secret, Vasantasena approaches, and with all imaginable gravity receives the casket from Servillaka; and having informed him that it was agreed between her and Charudatta, that whenever the casket was returned, the messenger, who brought it, should receive Madanika for his pains, she bestows the maiden on Servillaka. The lovers, from this act of generosity, perceive that Vasantasena was, they know not how, in possession of their little secret, and aware of their fidelity to her in restoring the jewels.

In this part of the play, the underplot is first brought into notice. The king, *Pálaka*, is universally detested as a tyrant, and is particularly odious to the Brahmans. A prophecy is current that *Aryaka*, the son of a cowherd, shall ascend the throne in his place; and alarmed by this prophecy, the king sends out to apprehend Aryaka and his followers, and cast them into prison. Among these followers are the gamester Darduraka (whom we mentioned above, as having interfered in behalf of the Samvahaka), and also Servillaka. Servillaka has no soon-

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er received Madanika from Vasantasena's hand, than the public crier comes round, proclaiming that Aryaka is in prison. Servillaka determines to go and rouse his friends, to relieve him, and meantime sends his newly acquired mistress, for safety, to the house of the aforesaid Rebhila, the singer.

By this time, Maitreya, the friend of Charudatta, arrives at Vasantasena's house, to bring the string of diamonds, in compensation for the supposed lost casket. Here an extraordinary scene is set forth, and one which, if the resources of the Hindu scene-painters are on a level with the poet's genius, must have been in representation truly splendid. Maitreya is taken through eight successive courts, composing the house of Vasantasena; and pausing in each, the servant who guides him, and Maitreya, describe in dialogue, the various parts of the domestic economy, display, and furniture, connected with each court. They at last get access to the lady herself, the mistress of all this magnificence. She takes the jewels from Maitreya, not betraying to him, that she has already received back her casket; and informs Maitreya, that she shall visit his friend in the evening. Maitreya, who is somewhat misanthropic, conceives that the object of this visit is to extort from Charudatta some further compensation for the casket.

We have now reached the fifth act; but a Hindu play is not so soon disposed of. The visit of Vasantasena, promised in the last act, now takes place, in spite of an impending storm. Imitating the fabricated message, which Charudatta had sent her, relative to the loss of the casket, she tells him, that having staked the necklace he had sent her, at play, and lost it, she had come to make him compensation; and presents him the aforesaid casket of jewels. Charudatta then learns how she became possessed of it; and the storm having meantime increased, Vasantasena yields to Charudatta's invitation, that she would pass the night at his house.

The next act represents Vasantasena preparing to proceed, in Charudatta's litter, to the public flower garden, *Pushpakaranda*, whither Charudatta has already repaired. Before leaving the house, Vasantasena sees the child of Charudatta, drawing his earthen *toy cart*, and weeping for a golden one, such as he had seen in the possession of a playmate, the child of a rich landholder. Vasantasena takes off her jewels, and putting them into the child's earthen cart, bids his nurse take him to buy a golden cart, from the sale of the jewels. This

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incident has an important connexion with the catastrophe of the piece, and gives it the name of *The Toy Cart.*

While Vasantasena is getting ready to repair in Charudatta's litter to the public flower garden, the litter of her old but detested suitor, Samst'hanaka, the Rajah's brother-in-law, passes by, on his way to the same spot. The driver leaves the carriage for a moment on the stage, to go and assist a peasant, whose wagon he had forced into a slough. While he is off the stage, Vasantasena hastily enters, mistakes the litter of the Rajah's brother-in-law, for that of Charudatta, which she supposed to be in attendance, gets into it, and draws the curtain. The driver, *St'hávaraka*, now returns, and not knowing that Vasantasena is in the vehicle, drives on to the flower garden.

At this juncture, Aryaka, the aspirer to the throne, having escaped from prison, by the aid of Servillaka, whom we left engaging in his relief, appears upon the stage, followed by officers in pursuit at a distance. Charudatta's litter at this moment, designed to take Vasantasena to the flower garden, comes in; and Aryaka adroitly enters it, undistinguished by the driver, who believes it to be the lady that enters, and thus drives off to the flower garden, with the fugitive state-prisoner and pretender to the throne, concealed in the vehicle.

On the way to the garden, the vehicle is arrested by two captains of the guard, one of whom, however, *Chandanaka*, is friendly to Aryaka's cause. Chandanaka undertakes to search the litter, and reports to *Viraka*, his comrade, that it contains the lady Vasantasena. His comrade, however, who is hostile to the cause of Aryaka, has his suspicions awakened, and insists upon searching the litter himself. This Chandanaka will not let him do, and an affray takes place between them, in which Viraka being worsted, flies to the palace to denounce Chandanaka. After he is gone, the latter gives Aryaka a sword; and Aryaka drives off, promising friendship and protection to Chandanaka, in the event of his own success. Chandanaka retires to collect his friends and relatives, in order to go to court, to meet the accusation of Viraka.

The seventh act introduces Charudatta and his friend Maitreya, arrived at the flower garden, and anxiously awaiting the approach of Vasantasena. Charudatta's carriage arrives, and Maitreya going to assist the lady in alighting, finds, to his astonishment, that it contains not the lady, but the fugitive Aryaka. He implores the protection of Charudatta, who

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(bound by duty to a suppliant) accords it, and removes the fetters from Aryaka's feet. By this action, of course, he lays Aryaka under infinite obligations. Deeming it, however, unsafe, after such a transaction, to remain on the spot, he gives up the appointment to meet Vasantasena, and goes home.

The eighth act opens with the appearance of our old friend, the Samvahaka, or joint-kneader, now transformed into a Budhist, or medicant devotee, who enters the flower garden. The Rajah's brother, the abandoned Samst'hanaka, with his attendant, follows shortly after, and wantonly maltreats the poor Budhist, who takes refuge from his blows, in the recesses of the garden. Presently the carriage of Samst'hanaka comes on, into which, as we have already seen, Vasantasena had inadvertently thrown herself. She is now, therefore, in the presence of her old pursuer, Samst'hanaka, whose passion for her she returns by the most decided aversion. Samst'hanaka approaches her with expressions of respect, but she spurns him with her foot. This treatment converts his passion into deadly hatred, and he resolves to destroy her. He first endeavors to persuade his tutor, and then the driver of the carriage, St'havaraka, to kill her; they both, however, refuse to execute the cruel act, and leave him. Stung by the continued scorn of the lady, he seizes and strangles her himself, and leaves her for dead. His tutor returning, and finding the cruel deed accomplished, forswears the friendship of Samst'hanaka, and flies to attach himself to the cause of Aryaka. Samst'hanaka, after covering the body of Vasantasena with leaves, goes off to court, to denounce Charudatta for having murdered her, in order to get possession of her wealth. The poor Budhist, who has been concealed in the recesses of the garden, now comes in, and accidentally discovers the lady; who, not having been wholly suffocated, revives by his assistance, and is conducted by him to a neighboring convent.

The ninth act opens with the hall of justice, in which a court is held. Samst'hanaka appears and denounces Charudatta, for having murdered Vasantasena. While this trial is proceeding, Viraka, the captain of the watch above mentioned, enters the court, and lays his complaint against Chandanaka for the assault. From Viraka's complaint, it appears, that Vasantasena had been reported to be in the carriage of Charudatta, shortly before her assassination. As Charudatta had already, in the course of the trial, denied any knowledge, where

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she was, the fact thus disclosed awakens suspicion against him. This suspicion is confirmed by another unfortunate occurrence. It will be recollected that Vasantasena had filled the earthen toy cart of Charudatta's child with jewels, to enable him to buy a golden one. The child's mother, however, refuses to permit the child to keep the jewels, and gives them to Maitreya to take back to Vasantasena. While on the way to perform this errand, Maitreya enters the court, and, having there learned the state of things, falls into a controversy, and finally into an affray, with the accuser of Charudatta, Samst'hanaka, the king's brother. In the personal struggle between them, Vasantasena's jewels drop from Maitreya's girdle. That lady's mother, who is present in court, as a witness, recognises the jewels as her daughter's. This last point of circumstantial evidence, is regarded by the court as proving Charudatta's guilt, and he is accordingly convicted. Being a Brahman he is not liable, by the Hindu law, to capital punishment. It is the duty, however, of the Rajah to pronounce the sentence, and he, in violation of the law, and of the sacred rights of the Brahmans, orders Charudatta to be impaled.

At the beginning of the tenth act we have the preparations for the execution of Charudatta, who is conducted towards the scaffold by two executioners, whose demeanor is very much in the style of that of the grave-diggers in Hamlet. The fatal procession passes under the windows of Samst'hanaka's palace. His servant, St'havaraka, the driver aforesaid, who had refused to kill Vasantasena, and who had seen his master do it, and is now confined by his master to prevent his appearing in court, hears the proclamation, announcing Charudatta's guilt and sentence. He determines to attempt to save him; and, unable to burst the door of his apartment, leaps from the window. He appears before the executioners, and the assembled crowd, declares the innocence of Charudatta, and the guilt of his master, Samst'hanaka. The crowd, with whom Charudatta is a favorite, joyfully believe his testimony; but Samst'hanaka succeeds in casting suspicion on his servant, as a runaway slave, and the preparations for the execution draw to a close. At this critical moment, the mendicant devotee comes forward, leading in the lady Vasantasena herself. The executioners refuse, of course, to take the life of Charudatta, for having murdered her. Thus restored to each other, Charudatta avows his purpose of making Vasantasena his wife, the

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Hindu law imposing no obligation of monogamy. At the same moment Servillaka appears on the scene, and communicates the intelligence, that the political revolution is completed, the Rajah killed, and Aryaka seated on the throne in his place. Samst'hanaka, arrested by the incensed people, is now dragged forward, in chains, but, by the magnanimity of Charudatta, is again set at liberty. Another trouble now presents itself. The wife of Charudatta, supposing her husband executed, prepares to burn herself, as becomes an affectionate Hindu widow. Fortunately, however, her design is discovered; and her husband and the other *dramatis personæ*, repairing to the funeral pyre, which is already kindled, prevent the execution of her purpose. The happy wife is of course overjoyed at finding her husband alive, and restored by political changes to prosperity and power, and kindly embraces Vasantasena as a sister. The new king, Aryaka, requiting his obligations to Charudatta, raises Vasantasena to the rank of his kinswoman, and Servillaka, throwing a veil over her, elevates her from the place of a courtezan, to that of a Brahman's wife; and thus the piece ends.

Such is the story of *The Toy Cart;* and the reader who has attentively perused the foregoing sketch, will feel that it is full of incidents, judiciously combined. Almost every occurrence, however slight, is important in the business of the piece. The unities of time and place are neglected; but that of action is admirably preserved; and the translator justly remarks, that 'the connexion of the two plots is much better maintained, than in the play we usually refer to, as a happy specimen of such a combination, *The Spanish Friar*.'

It is, of course, unfair to look, in the translation, for a specimen of the style of the original. 'The music of the Sanscrit composition,' says Mr Wilson, 'must be ever inadequately represented by any other tongue.' We may add, that in no composition is it more completely out of the question, to convey an idea of style, in a translation, than in popular drama, painting scenes of real life, in a distant region, and at a remote period of time. *The Toy Cart* is unquestionably a performance of great antiquity. Many points of manners, touched upon in the course of the play, appear, from Mr Wilson's quotations of the Sanscrit commentary, to be now obscure, even to the Hindus. Whoever will ask himself the question, how Shakspeare would probably read, one or two thousand

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years hence, literally translated into the language that may then be current in Calcutta, may judge of the disadvantage to which a Sanscrit play, written at least a thousand years ago, is read in a literal English version, at the present day.

It is time, however, to say something of the other specimen of the Hindu theatre, presented us by Mr Wilson. It is entitled *Vikrama and Urvasi*, or *The Hero and the Nymph*, and is comprised in five acts. This play is the production of the renowned bard of ancient India, Calidasa, one of whose dramas, 'Sacontalá,' as we have before observed, is already so well known to the world, in the version of Sir William Jones.* At the time he published the translation of 'Sacontalá,' that play and the present were supposed to be the only dramatic productions of the 'Indian Shakespeare.' Mr Wilson, however, mentions the present drama, as one of the *three* attributed to Calidasa.

The common opinion makes Calidasa the chief of the nine poets who flourished at the court of Vicramaditya, whose death, fifty-six years before our Savior, makes an epoch in Indian history. This corresponds pretty nearly with the age of Lucretius at Rome, who died the day that Virgil was born, and to this coincidence there is a beautiful allusion, in Mr Grant's 'Poem on the Restoration of Learning in the East,' in the following lines;—

'Hail, happy years! when every lyre was strung,
And every clime with mirth and music rung.
While Asia's voice her Calidasa blest,
Hark, kindred spirits answered from the West.
There all his lofty notes Lucretius gave,
And epic transports burst on Mincio's wave;
While roved the matin bee o'er sweetest flowers,
And all Hymettus bloomed in Tibur's bowers.
Oh, could some god have rent the veil away,
And joined in one the masters of the lay!'

It ought to be observed, however, that Mr Bentley, who places the reign of Vicramaditya in the eleventh century, finds a poet Calidasa in the same period, and thus robs the bard of a full half of his two thousand years. We profess not a sufficient acquaintance with the subject to give an opinion of the

*'Sacontalá' was republished in Boston, some years since, in a periodical work entitled *The Emerald.*

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importance of these doubts, as to the antiquity of Hindu literature. It is somewhat strange that such a doubt should be started. The only man, into whose head a similar doubt ever entered with respect to classical literature, Father Hardouin, was immediately reputed, *quoad hoc*, insane. No one ever took the trouble to refute the suggestion. Mr Bentley's sentiments were offered to the world in the 'Asiatic Researches,' * and rest partly on astronomical calculations. It is a matter of just surprise, that the series of the historical and other literature of the Hindus should not instantly present the means of refuting, or establishing, so important a suggestion.

Our limits do not allow us to introduce an analysis of the play of Calidasa, of which Mr Wilson has afforded us a translation. This we the less regret, as the play of 'Sacontalá' affords an adequate specimen of the poetry of its author. It is not, like *The Toy Cart*, a scene from real life, but is borrowed from the mythology of India; and its personages are partly derived from the divinities and demigods of the Hindu Pantheon. The commencement of the first act may serve as a sample of the performance, and particularly of the manner of the translator, Mr Wilson. The scene is laid on the top of the Himálaya mountains.

'*Enter in the Air a Troop of Apsarasas or Nymphs of Heaven.*

Nymphs. Help, help, if any friend be nigh,
To aid the daughters of the sky.

Enter Purúravas † in a heavenly car driven by his Charioteer.

Pur. Suspend your cries, in me behold a friend,
Purúravas, returning from the sphere
Of the wide glancing sun; command my aid,
And tell me what you dread.

Rembhá. A demon's violence.

Pur. What violence presumes the fiend to offer.

Menaká. Great king, it thus has chanced; we measured back
Our steps from an assembly of the Gods
Held in *Kuvera's* ‡ hall—before us stepped
The graceful *Urvasi*, the Nymph whose charms
Defeated *Indra's* stratagems, and shamed

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* *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. viii.

† *Purúravas* is a king of high descent, being sprung by his mother *Ilá* from the sun, and his father *Budha* from the moon, being the grandson of the latter, and great grandson of the former.

‡ The god of riches.

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The loveliness of *Sri* *—the brightest ornament
Of heaven: when on our path the haughty *Dánava*
Kési, the monarch of the golden city †
Sprang fierce and bore the struggling nymph away.

Pur. Which path pursued the wretch?

Sahajanyá. 'Tis yonder.

Pur. Banish your fears.
I go to rescue and restore your friend.

Rembhá. The act is worthy of your high descent.

Pur. Where wait you my return?

Rembhá. Here—on this peak
The towering *Hemakúta.*‡

Pur. (*To the Charioteer.*) Bend our course
To yonder point, and urge the rapid steeds
To swiftest flight—'tis done; before the car
Like vollied dust the scattering clouds divide;
The whirling wheel deceives the dazzled eye,
And double round the axle seems to circle;
The waving chowrie on the steed's broad brow
Points backward, motionless as in a picture;
And backward streams the banner from the breeze
We meet—immovable.—We should outstrip
The flight of *Vainatéya*, § and must surely
O'ertake the ravisher. [*Exeunt.*

Rembhá. Now sisters on, and blithely seek
The golden mountain's glittering peak;
Secure the king extracts the dart,
That rankles in each anxious heart.

Menaká. We need not fear; his arm can quell
The mightiest of the sons of hell.
What makes he here—but aid to bring
From mortal realms to *Swerga's* king;
And is not to his valor given
Command o'er all the hosts of heaven? (*they proceed.*

Rembhá. Joy, sisters, joy, the king advances;
High o'er yon ridgy rampart dances
The deer-emblazoned banner—See
The heavenly car rolls on; 'tis he.

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* The wife of Vishnu, goddess of prosperity and beauty.
† *Hiranyapur*, is the name in the text.
‡ The Golden, or Snowy Peak.
§ Garura the son of Vinatá.

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ART. V.—1. *A Statistical and Commercial History of the Kingdom of Guatemala in Spanish America, containing important Particulars relative to its Productions, Manufactures, Customs, &c. with an Account of its Conquest by the Spaniards, and a Narrative of the principal Events down to the present Time.* By D. DOMINGO JUARROS. Translated by J. BAILY. 8vo. pp. 520. London. 1823.

2. *Constitucion de la Republica Federal de Centro-América, dada por la Asamblea Nacional Constituyente en 22 de Noviembre de* 1824. Guatemala. 1825.

3. *Constitucion del Estado del Salvador.* S. Salvador. 1824.

4. *Constitucion Politica del Estado de Nicaragua, decretada y sancionada por la Asamblea Constituyente en el Año de* 1826. Guatemala. 1826.

5. *Mensage del* C. MANUEL JOSE' ARCE, *Presidente de la Republica de Centro-América, al Congreso Federal.* Guatemala. 1826.

6. *Discursos de* JOSE' DEL VALLE, *en el Congreso Federal de Centro-América de* 1826. Guatemala.

7. *El Liberal. El Indicador. El Centinela del Salvador. Redactor General.* [Newspapers printed in Central America.]

8. *Proyecto de Reforma del Sistema de Hacienda y Erección de un Banco Nacional de Centro-América,* por J. M. R. [S. JUAN MANUEL RODRIGUEZ.] Guatemala. 1827.

9. *Manifiestos y Decretos del Gefe del Estado de Guatemala y del Presidente de Centro-América; Cartas de los Gobiernos del Salvador, de Honduras, Nicaragua y Costa Rica, &c. &c.* 1826–7.

THE ancient kingdom of Guatemala, now the Republic of Central America, the least known of the great political fragments of the Spanish empire in the West, is by no means the least important. Destitute of commercial relations with the United States, and the maritime powers of Europe, and less distinguished than other portions of Spanish America, by the possession of abundant mines of gold or silver, it remained, until the period of its independence, in comparative obscurity,

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Long after the stormy course of the revolution had begun to convulse Colombia, Buenos Ayres, Chile, and Peru, consigning them to the ravages of hostile invasion, or the scarcely more tolerable effects of civil discord, Guatemala continued tranquilly subject to the dominion of the mother country. Even the disturbances in the contiguous government of Mexico, failed to interrupt its repose, or produce any manifestation of the revolutionary spirit among its inhabitants. Guatemala appeared to be overlooked in the all-absorbing interest, awakened by the career of its more powerful neighbor, in whose fate its own was inevitably involved.

Such was the situation of Central America, when the act for acknowledging the national existence of the new republics, that proud testimony of our country's public justice and political magnanimity, was passed, with the unanimous approbation of the people. But those circumstances, which induced the Council of the Indies, to give Guatemala a separate government, influenced the inhabitants in their choice of a political system, when the yoke of colonial servitude was finally broken. They desired that independence as a nation, which they had always enjoyed in substance as a province, and which their population, geographical extent, resources, and local position, gave them reasonable pretensions to demand. Fortunate in one respect, beyond most of their compatriots, they have had no foreign armies to struggle against, for the achievement of their freedom; and, although nearly the last to raise the standard of independence, they have been among the first to complete the organization of constitutional forms of government. Availing ourselves of the information contained in the publications, enumerated at the head of this article, we shall present our readers with a brief account of the past and present condition of the new republic.

As regulated before the revolution, Guatemala comprised most of the isthmus, which unites North and South America, stretching along from Yucatan and Tabasco to Veragua, with the Atlantic ocean on one side, and the Pacific on the other. The Republic of Central America is intended to cover the same territory, and for the purposes of the confederation is divided into the five states of Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica. To these the province of Chiapas properly belongs, and has been united, we believe, since the adoption of the federal constitution by the

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other states. It needs only the bare inspection of a map to show how favorably this region is situated, in a geographical point of view, for cultivating commercial intercourse, either with other parts of America, or with the nations of both Asia and Europe. Although the seacoast on the Atlantic side is insalubrious, like that of Mexico, and subject also at certain seasons of the year to violent storms, yet it is accessible on each sea by means of numerous harbors; and rivers, communicating with the interior of the country, intersect it in every direction. Whilst Guatemala lay buried in the darkness of Spanish colonial administration, the advantages of its position, although known to the world, were held of little account, because it required the intervention of a revolution to create the possibility of converting them to any useful purpose. Its revenues hardly sufficed to defray the expenses of its provincial government. The Spanish king,* who neither knew where Honduras was, nor what were his own possessions there, probably knew still less of Guatemala; and his successors, bred in equal imbecility and ignorance with himself, might never have heard of its existence, but for the superior excellence of the cocoa produced in Soconusco, which was gathered to be made into chocolate for the especial use of the royal table. And although in Guatemala we discover fewer traces of the horrid tyranny, which the Spaniards exercised over many parts of America, yet the single fact, that so fine a country remained until lately with its resources unappreciated, and almost unknown, speaks volumes against the barbarous maxims of misrule, to which its prosperity was relentlessly sacrificed. Guided by the principles, and stimulated by the invigorating spirit of liberty, we may, perhaps, hope to see Central America one day become the point of union for the commerce of of both oceans.

Next to the position of Guatemala, the most remarkable of its natural features is the number of its volcanoes. Of these the volcano of Ometep is worthy of note, for its situation upon an island in the great lake of Nicaragua. That of Tajamulco, in the old province of Quezaltenango, is subject to frequent eruptions, notwithstanding which there is a considerable village at its base. Near the village of Masaya, in Nicaragua, is the volcano called Nindiri, which discharged a torrent of lava into

* Siècle de Louis XIV, ch. 17.

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the lake of Masaya, in 1775, destroying the fish in the lake, and heating the lands adjacent to its course, so that the cattle pasturing on them perished. Not far from the village is an extinct volcano, called *Infierno de Masaya* by the *Conquistadores*, in whose time it was the most remarkable one in the kingdom of Guatemala. If the historians of that day may be credited, the crater of this volcano was constantly filled with molten lava, or with metallic substances in a state of fusion, which frequently boiled up, and emitted a brilliant light, illuminating the country for miles around, and distinctly visible twentyfive leagues off at sea. But these volcanoes are now all insignificant, compared with those in the neighborhood of the city of Guatemala.

The site of the capital, it should be premised, has been twice changed. Originally it was built on the spot called Ciudad Vieja, from whence it was removed in 1541, about a league to Old Guatemala, and in 1776 was finally established at New Guatemala. These successive removals were the consequence of disastrous earthquakes, and volcanic eruptions, which frequently occurred in the tract where the old cities were founded. Ciudad Vieja stood at the foot of a lofty mountain, called Volcan de Agua, northeast of which is Old Guatemala. This mountain is of a conical shape, covered with a fertile soil, and surrounded by villages, and valleys producing the most luxuriant crops. Standing on its summit, the spectator can embrace at one view the most sublime and splendid prospect in nature. Near at hand are the mountains of Pacaya, and Volcan de Fuego, amid rich farms and numerous hamlets, the city of Guatemala, the village and beautiful lake of Amatitan, and a country remarkably picturesque in its features. Farther off may be seen the Atlantic ocean on the north, the Pacific on the south, and on each hand a vast extent of land from the city of San Salvador to the plains of Chiapa. Every thing attractive and delightful, which the bounty of nature affords, is profusely lavished over this charming region, which yet is visited by a curse that renders all its blessings unavailing. It forms the roof of a range of subterraneous vaults, teeming with pent up fires, which often convulse the earth, and occasionally burst forth in most terrific explosions.

At the summit of the mountain, called Volcan de Agua, is a kind of crater, although no tradition exists of its having ever emitted fire. But in the morning of September 11, 1541,

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after long continued rains, and eruptions from the Volcan de Fuego, accompanied by violent shocks of earthquake, an immense torrent of water rushed down from the crater, forcing before it enormous fragments of the mountain, which overwhelmed the ill-fated town of Ciudad Vieja, and buried many of its inhabitants under the ruins of their dwellings. Their removal to the site of Old Guatemala afforded them but a short respite from calamity. Besides being visited, from time to time, by dreadful epidemics, which raged with fatal malignity, the city was again and again half destroyed by earthquakes, attending volcanic eruptions from the mountains of Volcan de Fuego and Pacaya, between which it stood. Each of these mountains is divided into three peaks at its summit, having several openings. Earthquakes occurring every week for a year or two at a time; vast clouds of ashes and smoke that obscured the sun and rendered artificial light necessary in the city at midday; fire pouring forth incessantly for months together; showers of heated stones;—such are some of the horrors, to which the vicinity of the volcanoes of Guatemala is subject. On one occasion, in the year 1664, the crater of Pacaya vomited forth a pillar of flame so enormous that the city, at the distance of seven leagues, was illuminated at dead of night by a light scarcely inferior to that of noon day. It was one of these tremendous convulsions of nature, continuing at short intervals throughout the latter half of the year 1773, that completely destroyed the city of Old Guatemala, and compelled the inhabitants to abandon their homes, that they might escape the repetition of the terrible catastrophe.

Previous to the Spanish conquest, Guatemala was peopled by various nations of Indians, whose descendants still compose the great mass of its population. No less than twenty-six different languages are enumerated, as peculiar to the various tribes dwelling in this region. The predominant people were a tribe of the same Toltecas, who subjugated Mexico, and extended their conquests far into Guatemala, subduing the Chichimecas, the primitive inhabitants of the country.

It requires careful and repeated perusal of the prolix and confused statements of Juarros, thrown together with scarce any pretensions to method or connexion, to obtain a correct idea of the aboriginal history of Guatemala, and its subsequent political vicissitudes. But from his scattered details we may

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gather that, according to the Indian traditions, a large body of of the Toltecas left Tula, in Mexico, under the guidance of Nimaquiche, in quest of less crowded settlements, and, after various wanderings, established themselves near the lake of Atitan. Nimaquiche, having died previously to this, was succeeded by his son Acxopil, who caused his tribe and country to be distinguished by the name of Quiche, in honor of his father.* He divided his conquests into three parts, fixing his own capital at Utatlan, as the head of the Quiches. To his first son, Jiutemal, he gave the kingdom of the Kachiqueles, or Guatemala; and on his younger son, Acxiquat, he bestowed that of the Zutugiles, or Atitan. This partition subsisted, after many alterations of more or less extent, until the conquest of Mexico by Cortez, when a prince, named Tecum Umam, reigned in Utatlan.

Our author relates these facts on the authority of manuscript histories, by caciques of the Quiche, Kachiquel, and other Indians, who, like the son of Montezuma in Mexico, and the Inca Garcilasso in Peru, busied themselves after they were made acquainted with the Spanish language, in the melancholy duty of recording and preserving the traditions, whether fabulous or true, of their ancient victories, and their departed grandeur and independence. Our readers would not thank us for our pains, if we should attempt to narrate the petty wars and civil vicissitudes, of which the history is thus obtained. The absurd story related by several of the Indian caciques, ascribing the origin of their race to the dispersed ten tribes of Israel, would shake our faith in the whole of the early traditional history of Guatemala, were not the main facts confirmed by other evidence less capable of error and distortion, than mere scattered traditions.

Guatemala was subdued by Pedro de Alvarado, acting under commission from Cortez. He left Mexico on this expedition in 1523, accompanied by three hundred Spaniards, and a large body of auxiliary Mexicans, Tlascaltecas and Cholutecas, having the tried officers, Pedro de Portocarrero and Hernando de Chaves, as second in command. They could not effect the subjugation of the country without many sanguinary battles, in which, it is true, most of the loss was on the

* The name of *Nimaquiche* is analogous to that of Charlemagne, signifying *Great Quiche.*

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side of the Indians, but the Spaniards themselves did not escape unharmed. The chief part of these engagements occurred in the districts of Suchiltepeque and Quezaltenango, where the Indians still preserve a lively recollection of their ancient disasters. A river flows into the Pacific, through these two provinces, called Siguila in the beginning of its course, which at the close is changed to Zamalá. An intermediate part of it bears the name of Xiquigel, which signifies *the river of blood,* It was in the neighborhood of this stream that the Quiche Indians made their most resolute stand. They killed great numbers of the Mexican and Tlascaltecan allies; and attacked the Spaniards with the fury of desperation. Immense bodies of them pressed around the Castilian cavalry, their bravest even clinging to the legs of the horses, and endeavoring to drag them and their riders to the ground by main force. But the mailed Spaniards (Teules, or divinities, as the unfortunate Indians termed them) opened a fire of musketry upon the dense multitudes around them, and inflicted the most dreadful slaughter upon the half-clad Quiches. A series of six of these desperate actions was fought in a short space of time, and the waters of the Zamalá, reddened by the carnage of the victors and vanquished, acquired the melancholy name of 'the River of Blood.'

A succession of similar battles ensued, before Alvarado was able to break the resolution, and dissolve the union of the Quiches. And when their king, Tecum Umam, was slain in battle, and their best and bravest had fallen by his side, they had recourse to a stratagem, only to be matched in vigor and dignity by a similar effort in our own times. They decoyed the Spaniards, under pretext of submission, into the city of Utatlan, the court of their princes, abounding in sumptuous edifices, hardly surpassed in splendor, according to the concurring testimony of writers, by the Indian palaces and castles of Mexico and Cusco; a city so populous, that *it is said* seventy thousand combatants were drawn from it to oppose the Spaniards. It was a walled city, having but two points of approach, one by a causeway, the other by a narrow flight of steps; and the buildings stood high and compact. The Quiches devoted this their principal city to the flames, in order to destroy the Spaniards lodged within it; and but for the untimely treachery of the Indians of another tribe, Alvarado and his followers would have been buried beneath the smoking ruins of Utatlan.

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But the genius of the Spaniards prevailed; and Alvarado added victory to victory, until he was completely master of the country. Owing to the peaceful reception he met with from the Kachiquel tribe, after he had subdued the Quiches, he had it in his power to establish his government at Guatemala, in 1524, calling his capital, Santiago de los Caballeros de Guatemala. Having fixed his headquarters here, he proceeded, with greater facility, in subjugating the remaining tribes, who yielded, one after another, to the universal ascendancy of the Spanish arms.

To enter into the condition, or character, of the aboriginal inhabitants of Guatemala is beyond our purpose. That they, like the Mexicans and Peruvians, had attained to partial civilization; nay, that a people had gone before them, of no contemptible degree of refinement, is sufficiently evinced by the vestiges, which remain of their permanent structures. Near the village of Palenque, in the province of Chiapa, are the ruins of what must once have been an opulent city; the capital, perhaps, of an empire, whose very name is lost to history. 'This metropolis,' says Juarros, 'concealed for ages in the midst of a vast desert, remained unknown until the middle of the eighteenth century, when some Spaniards, having penetrated the dreary solitude, found themselves, to their great astonishment, within sight of the remains of what had once been a superb city, six leagues in circumference; the solidity of its edifices, the stateliness of its palaces, and the magnificence of its public works, were not surpassed in importance by its vast extent; temples, altars, deities, sculptures, and ornamental stones, bear testimony to its great antiquity.' He afterwards mentions the remains of an aqueduct here, of sufficient dimensions for a man to walk upright in it; and other like ruins are to be seen near Ocosingo, in the same district.

The celebrated circus, and other structures in the valley of Copan, in the state of Honduras, are, in part, undoubtedly of later date, because they abound with sculptured figures in the Spanish costume. The circus, so called, consisted of a circular space surrounded by stone pyramids, about six yards high, having in its centre an altar, or elevated place of sacrifice. Near it, suspended between two small pyramids, swung a hammock containing two human figures with the Indian dress, all constructed of stone. In the same valley is the cave of Tibulca, hollowed out of the base of a hill, in the form of a temple,

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adorned with columns, and other architectural ornaments. In the district of Solola, we read of the great city of Utatlan, already mentioned; and of other ruins of cities elsewhere; such as Patinamit, near the village of Tecpanguatemala; and Mixco, in the valley of Xilotepeque. And the vestiges and foundations of many large fortresses are still to be seen in the province of Quezaltenango. Of all these buildings, the palaces and castles of Utatlan, appear to have been the most remarkable, especially the grand alcazar of the kings of Quiche, having three hundred and seventy-six paces' length in front, and a depth of seven hundred and twenty-eight, and constructed of hewn stone. After making all reasonable allowance for the exaggerations of Torquemada, Fuentes, and other Spanish writers, enough will remain to show, that the Indians of Guatemala had risen to no inconsiderable height of power and refinement.

Under the government of the *Conquistadores*, and their successors, the native inhabitants, exchanging the condition of independent tribes, for that of a subdued, an inferior, and a depressed race, lost much of their original force of character. As Guatemala, however, was an agricultural, not a mining country, its primitive inhabitants were not subjected to those excesses of grinding despotism, which disgraced the conduct of the Spaniards in Peru and New Granada. Their spirits were not broken here, nor their numbers swept off, by the horrible cruelties of the *mita*. Oppression fell upon them, when it came at all, in the mild form of agricultural labor. And as the Indians of Guatemala had less cause to complain of the whites, than the tribes of their race in other parts of Spanish America, so the Creoles suffered less from the misrule of the mother country, and its greedy emissaries. The government was nominally placed under that of Mexico; but the captain-general of Guatemala, did not acknowledge a very close dependence upon the viceroy of New Spain. To this, and to the peculiar occupations, and spirit of the people, it is owing, that the kingdom of Guatemala was almost the last to embrace the cause of liberty.

But whilst an obstinate struggle for independence was convulsing the neighboring provinces of Venezuela, it is not to be supposed, that the inhabitants of Guatemala were entirely tranquil. Still, the Spanish rule, pressing less heavily upon them, than upon other regions of America more accessible to its in-

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fluence, or more stimulating to its cupidity, they had not the same urgent inducement to draw the sword, which actuated the Colombians; nor, if they had set the example of armed resistance to the mother country, could she so readily have made them feel the extremity of her vengeance. Previously to 1821, men of intelligence and influence had been gradually preparing the minds of the inhabitants for a declaration of independence; and in September of that year the decisive step was taken, contemporaneously with the revolutionary movements in Mexico. Unfortunately, however, for Guatemala, the usurper, Iturbide, resolved to make it a part of his empire; and by combined deceit and violence, gained over most of the towns in the province. But Salvador, and part of Nicaragua, refused to submit from the beginning; and when the downfal of the usurper left the other districts free to act, they resumed their original purpose of forming an independent republic, as at present organized. A constituent assembly was immediately called together, which completed the constitution of government for the confederated states, November 22, 1824. Of the five states, Salvador established its constitution first, in June, 1824; Costa Rica followed in January, 1825; Guatemala in October, 1825; Honduras in December, 1825; and lastly, Nicaragua, in April, 1826.

Central America, it is well known, adopted, like Mexico, the political system of the United States, as a model in the formation of its constitutions. A comparison of the two systems, however, while it demonstrates the closeness of the imitation, discloses many remarkable discrepancies, which will best appear, from a brief exposition of the constitution of the confederacy, and that of some one of the individual states.

The federal constitution is not preceded by a declaration of rights, or general principles, but commences by defining the nation, its territory, government and religion, and the conditions of citizenship. It expressly reserves to each state all the power, which it does not confer upon the federal authorities, as the basis of its political system. It establishes the catholic religion, to the exclusion of the public exercise of every other. In respect to citizenship, its provisions are very peculiar, inasmuch as it pronounces every inhabitant of the republic free, and that none are slaves, who claim protection from its laws; none citizens, who traffic in slaves. Every person, past the age of eighteen, or married, is declared a citizen, provided he

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exercises any useful profession, or has any known means of subsistence; but the privilege is lost by the acceptance of hereditary titles, or pensions from a foreign country, or by being convicted of an infamous crime; and it is suspended during an indictment for such a crime, or by being proved a fraudulent debtor, by notorious profligacy of conduct, by physical or moral incapacity, or by living in the condition of a domestic servant.

For the purposes of elections, each state is divided into *popular juntas*, *districts*, and *departments*. Each popular junta, consists of not less than two hundred and fifty, nor more than twentyfive hundred inhabitants, who choose a primary elector for every two hundred and fifty inhabitants. The primary electors from every popular junta in a district, form the *district junta*, who choose a district elector for every ten primary electors. The district electors of a department united compose the junta of the department; and these last juntas elect the senators and representatives, and the supreme executive and judicial authorities of the republic.

The legislative power resides in a Congress, composed of representatives, elected annually, in the ratio of one to every twelve district electors, that is, one to every thirty thousand inhabitants. For every three representatives, one substitute also is elected. This body assembles annually the first day of March, continuing in cession three months; and to it belongs, in addition to the powers vested in the Congress of the United States, express authority to regulate education, to declare war and make peace, to ratify treaties negotiated by the executive, and express authority to construct great roads and canals of internal communication. It belongs to the Senate to sanction (*sancionar*) or reject all laws passed by the Congress, which, when thus passed and sanctioned, it is the duty of the executive instantly to promulgate.

The senate consists of two members and one substitute for each state, elected annually by thirds, to whom it belongs to give or deny sanction to laws, to watch over the integrity of the constitution, to advise the executive authority, to propose a triple list to the president for his nomination, of the principal civil and military officers of the republic, and to declare when there is cause for the impeachment of the public servants.

The president is elected for the period of four years, and exercises the executive power as usually understood in this

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country, excepting the right of a *veto* upon laws, and the other qualifications of his authority, before mentioned. The Supreme Court, composed of either five or seven members, to be elected every two years, but capable of perpetual reëlection, in addition to the ordinary powers of such a tribunal, constitutes a high court of impeachment upon information of the senate.

After these provisions for the organization of the government, there follow in the constitution sundry guaranties of personal freedom, as they are termed, and limitations of the legislative authority, in which the fundamental principles of liberty are embodied. Such is the frame of government for the whole republic. Some peculiarities of the state constitutions deserve to be mentioned.

The federal constitution delineates the outline of the form of government to be adopted by the several states, by which means great uniformity is secured, and the constitution of one sufficiently explains those of the rest. We take that of Salvador, the first that was finished, for an example. The legislative body, called a Congress, consists of not less than nine, nor more than twenty-one deputies, elected to serve two years, whose acts are subject to the revision of a representative council, elected for three years; the executive power residing in a governor, denominated supreme chief (*gefe supremo*), whose term of service is four years. Each department is governed by an intendant, appointed by the supreme chief. The constitution of the other states is substantially the same, all of them following the model set, and the general outline prescribed, in the constitution of the whole republic.

Some of the provisions in these systems of government are sufficiently singular, and suggest several useful topics of reflection. We pass on, however, to the subject of the actual condition of Central America, and the progress which the government has made, since the accomplishment of its republican organization. Its foreign relations present nothing of moment for consideration; but internally the unsettled state of the country contradicts the favorable presages, drawn from the bloodless commencement of its career of independence. The general confidence entertained in the character of the president, Manuel José Arce, gave strength and extensive currency to those anticipations of prosperity. But the end has by no means corresponded to the beginning.

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The patriots of Guatemala seem, like those in all the South American governments, but with less of plausible reason, than most of their brethren in the other republics can allege, to have proceeded on principles radically erroneous, in their financial affairs. The revenue of Central America arises from maritime duties, from the monopoly of tobacco and gunpowder, and from the post-office. These funds, managed as before the revolution, did not yield enough to cover the estimated expenses of the first year, by eight hundred thousand dollars. Instead of improving the established sources of public revenue, so as to draw from them enough for the public exigencies; or if that could not be done, manfully facing the difficulty, and providing fixed means to meet it permanently; the government resorted to the ruinous expedient of contracting a loan for seven millions and a half, which will prove a serious embarrassment to the infant republic. It is said, indeed, that for the sake of conciliating the popular good will, other productive taxes were inconsiderately abolished at the time of the revolution; the plain ultimate good of the country being sacrificed to promote the purposes of the moment. Nothing could have been more grossly ill judged. At the crisis of the revolution, the finances might have been placed upon a sure foundation, amid the numerous other fundamental changes, which the condition of the people underwent; and any judicious regulations respecting the revenue would easily have passed into the fabric of the government, along with the great mass of political innovations effected at the adoption of the constitution. Least of all ought any of the existing sources of revenue, to which the people were familiarized by long use, to have been abandoned for the destructive substitute of a foreign loan. The violation of these self-evident maxims of political economy must either involve the republic in acts of bad faith, lead to political convulsions, or compel the government to resort to burthensome contributions to replenish the treasury; either of which is greatly to be deprecated. Honduras and Nicaragua, it is represented, are unable to subsist upon their own resources; and can ill afford to yield a contingent for the expenses of the general government, which must fall therefore upon Costa Rica, Salvador, and Guatemala with redoubled weight. It is reasonable to anticipate, from such a state of things, the same disorders which financial embarrassments have produced in other parts of Spanish America.

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Unfortunately, too, the resources of Central America are not of such a nature, that she can easily and successfully contend with pecuniary difficulties. It is true, that her government was more economical, until recently, than those of her sister republics, and was enabled to meet the national exigencies with a smaller amount of expenditure. It is true, also, that the resources of the country, if they could be called forth, are not inconsiderable. But the extreme unhealthiness of the northeastern coasts, the badness of the roads, and the absence of water communication capable, at present, of affording convenient means of intercourse with the interior, have depressed the commerce of Central America. Its maritime revenue, for the first year, was not estimated to exceed three hundred thousand dollars. Until a better system can be introduced, the country must, of necessity, continue poor, with little commerce, no manufactures, and scarcely more agriculture than the wants of the people require to supply their home consumption.

Extraordinary advantages, it is well known, have been anticipated for Central America, by the construction of an *Oceanic Canal*, uniting the Atlantic and Pacific seas through the lake of Nicaragua. The idiom of exaggeration, so peculiar to the Spanish tongue, has been racked by the Guatemaltecans for terms of magnificent description, in depicting the beneficial consequences that are to flow from this celebrated project. We fear the time is far distant, when the boasted utility of the canal of Nicaragua will be realized. It is quite certain, at all events, that this canal will not soon be made. The success of the state of New York, in extending her noble canal through a tract of country, more favorable for the purpose, perhaps, than any other in America, has given encouragement to wild speculations on the subject of canals. Especially has it induced our brethren of the South to believe, that no undertaking is too arduous or expensive for the enterprise of North Americans. We read, for instance, in a piece published in Guatemala, exhorting the government to patronize the canal of Nicaragua, such a sentence as the following; 'The United States of the North have entertained *the project of opening a communication between the two oceans, by a canal of a thousand leagues*, connecting the waters of the Columbia and Mississippi rivers; and we tremble at the idea of cutting through

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a plain of five leagues!'* A project, truly, which we imagine it would stagger the bold enthusiasm even of Captain Symmes to conceive. And yet to raise a stock for a canal over the Rocky Mountains, and for the canal of Nicaragua, on the conditions proposed by the government of Central America, would, we apprehend, be equally practicable. The public expectation having been unduly raised, relative to this matter, by the partial contract made by the government of Central America with Mr Beneski in behalf of Mr Palmer of New York, we deem some explanation of the circumstance proper here, that the credit of our country may not suffer among those, who, from ignorance of the precise nature of our political institutions, do not rightly distinguish between the acts of the nation, and of its individual citizens.

By a resolution passed June 25th, 1825, the Congress of Central America voted, that the canal of Nicaragua should be opened for the vessels of all neutral and friendly nations, and solicited proposals for the undertaking, which were to be rendered to the Executive. Proposals were accordingly made by an agent for the Messrs Barclay of London, and another for Mr Palmer of New York, which resulted in a contract with the latter, concluded in June, 1826. When the question whether this contract should be ratified, came before the Congress, it encountered much opposition; and strong reasons were urged against its ratification by José del Valle, a deputy of distinguished talents, who had been high in station under Iturbide, and was an unsucessful candidate for the office of first president of the republic. He alleged, that it was premature to contract for the construction of the canal, before it had been ascertained to be practicable; that no surveys had been made of the river San Juan, the lake of Nicaragua, or of the land between that and the Pacific; that all the plans and charts of this region were inaccurate and defective; that however useful such a canal might be, if feasible, yet that the present time was altogether unsuitable for the undertaking; that it was extremely ill advised to have the canal, and with

*'Los Estados Unidos del Norte han ensayado el proyecto de la comunicacion de los mares por un canal de mas de mil leguas, uniendo las ramificaciones de Colombia y el Misisipi; y nosotros temblamos para cortar un plano de cinco leguas!' *El Liberal* (de Guatemala), Mayo 17 de 1826.

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it the command of all the resources of the country, in the hands of foreigners; and that, besides, the government had no precise information of the credit or circumstances of the contracting house. If a navigable ship canal should be constructed, he conceived that, being the readiest road to India, it would tempt some foreign power, Great Britain for instance, or an enemy of Great Britain, to seize on Nicaragua, and occupy the fortifications at the mouth of its canal, as a fit position for another Elsinore or Gibraltar. Central America itself was in no settled condition; disputes concerning boundary was still pending with Mexico on the one hand, and Colombia on the other; and serious disturbances existed in the very state of Nicaragua, where the excavations were to be made. He, therefore, urged the Congress to wait until the requisite surveys and calculations could be made, and not to leap into the contract blindfold, but rather, if the project, on satisfactory examination, should be found practicable, to reserve the benefit of it for the republic itself, or its own citizens.

Notwithstanding the cogency of these reasons, the contract was ratified, but clogged at the same time with such onerous conditions, as would almost create a belief that the government did not feel very anxious to have it fulfilled. By the proposals originally presented to the president, a privilege was claimed of navigating the canal by steamboats for thirtyfive years; the contractor was to have one half of the proceeds of the tolls for fifteen years after the capital invested should have been reïmbursed; and the capital invested was immediately to be charged upon the republic as a debt, payable at all events by the people, if the project should fail to prove profitable to the undertakers. The enterprise, even upon these terms, would have been very hazardous, because the cost being converted into a loan, might very possibly reduce the nation to bankruptcy, and thus ruin the contractors. But in Palmer's contract, the privilege for steamboats was limited to twenty years; and half the tolls for seven years only, instead of fifteen, was conceded. The republic, moreover, incurred no responsibility for the capital invested, but, on the contrary, immediately on the completion of the canal, was to receive one third of the tolls, leaving but two thirds as a fund to reimburse the contractors.

In fact, they made themselves entirely dependant on the government, which might at any time resume the grant, by

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refunding the principal sum laid out, with ten per cent. interest and one half the tolls for seven years. Add to this, that two hundred thousand dollars were to be forthwith advanced, to be expended in the construction of fortifications, and the contractors remained subject to be called upon for further advances, without any limitation as to the amount, or any security for repayment but the remote prospect of uncertain profit. These unanswerable objections proved fatal to the enterprise; because no capitalists did, or could, consider it anything less than extravagant improvidence to adventure in a speculation loaded with such conditions. Had the contract for the canal been made on the terms proposed by the firm of Barclay, and had it been thrown into the English market, when the mania for mining and other joint stock enterprises was at flood, this stock *might* have been subscribed for, at least with such chance of success as other bubbles of the day enjoyed. But we do not believe, that even the daring speculators of that infatuated period could have imparted credit and stability to the stock, on the conditions of the contract as finally concluded.

Having entered so fully into the preceding topics, we shall abstain from relating minutely the circumstances of the unhappy civil dissensions, which have continued to agitate Central America for the past year. This will be the less necessary, because the newspapers have from time to time contained intelligence of the events as they occurred. But the origin of the disturbances not being so generally known, and many misapprehensions having gone abroad in consequence, respecting the motives of the contending parties, we shall simply state the commencement of the troubles, as we find it explained in the papers before us, without vouching for the integrity, either of the government or of its opponents.

The inhabitants of Salvador have long been jealous, it seems, that a strong *central* party existed in Guatemala, the capital at the same time of the most powerful of the confederated states, and of the confederacy itself. They charged the president with having digested a plan of changing the government from the federal to the central form. Even during the session of the first congress, in March, 1826, the Salvadoreños indicated the jealousy in question, by representing to the Congress the necessity of transferring its sessions, and the seat of the executive government, to some place distant at least forty leagues from Guatemala. Petitions to the same effect came

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from the towns of Aguachapam, and Metapan, in the state of Salvador. The regular session of Congress closed in June; and in August following, the senate, exercising the discretion conferred upon it by the constitution,* appointed an extraordinary session of the congress to be holden at Guatemala, the established seat of government, on the first day of October ensuing, to deliberate upon various important subjects demanding immediate attention. At the time fixed for the meeting, only sixteen members attended. As twenty-one were required by the constitution to constitute a quorum; the members convened could not of course legally transact any business, but such as related to their regular organization. In the discharge of this duty, they examined and discussed the reasons assigned by the absent members for not attending, and took measures for procuring their presence.

It soon became apparent, that the members from Salvador designed to refuse attendance at all events. One of them, Marcellino Mendez, sent in a memorial, in which he signified his determination not to attend, unless the Congress was convened at some other place, denied that the decree of the senate set forth any sufficient cause for convoking the Congress, and complained, that among the subjects for its consideration, they had omitted to insert the question, left undecided by the preceding Congress, whether the seat of government should be removed. This document was justly regarded as a kind of public declaration of the feelings of the people of Salvador, whose unfriendly sentiments towards the Guatemaltecans (whether justly conceived or not, we do not judge) were otherwise sufficiently known. The result of the whole was, that the legislature of the state of Guatemala authorized the levy of a body of militia, under the name of defenders of the constitution.

Meanwhile the members of the Congress had continued their preparatory sessions, until October tenth, when the president of the republic issued a decree, ordering the convocation of an extraordinary congress at Cojutepeque, in the state of Salvador, to consist of two delegates for every thirty thousand inhabitants, and to be invested with unlimited authority to provide for the national necessities, and preserve the public tranquillity. This

* *Constitucion de Centro-America*, T. vi, s. 2, art. 101. 'Convocará al Congreso en casos extraordinarios.'

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decree was immediately declared unconstitutional and void, by the Supreme Court; and being communicated to the regular Congress, they also voted that it was an act of arbitrary power on the part of the president, and that they could not observe it, either as individuals or as public functionaries.

Guatemala, on the one hand, yielded a qualified submission to the president's decree, and proceeded to elect delegates for the extraordinary congress. Salvador, on the other hand, took the lead in opposing it; and had she confined her opposition to the constitutional means of resistance, the affair might have terminated without bloodshed. But various events occurred, having a tendency to exasperate the minds of all concerned, and the breath of party spirit fanned the flame of discord, till it broke forth into a civil war. Early in 1827, the government of Salvador levied troops, and caused them to be gradually concentrated upon points convenient for invading the territory of Guatemala. This measure was the signal for actual hostilities. The Guatemaltecans considering themselves threatened with an attack from the Salvadoreaños, prepared for the worst. After various intermediate movements, the troops of Salvador marched upon the city of Guatemala, amounting to twelve or fourteen hundred in number, and headed by Nicolas Raoul, Isidoro Saget, and Cleto Ordoñez. An engagement ensued in the neighborhood of the capital, which resulted in the defeat and dispersion of the invading force, and the complete triumph of the Guatemaltecans. Such was the origin of the unfortunate dissensions, which have agitated the new republic, and the present effects and future consequences of which, may prove disastrous to its prosperity. We sincerely hope, however, for that entire reëstablishment of the constitutional government, and that permanent restoration of peace and good order to the nation, which the latest accounts encourage us to expect.

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ART. VI. *Specimens of Polish Poets; with Notes and Observations on the Literature of Poland.* By JOHN BOWRING. London. 1827. 12mo. pp. 227.

THOUGH we noticed Mr Bowring's Servian translations in our last number, we cannot resist the temptation of bringing him again before our readers; and we have more reasons for doing this than the mere wish to praise him. This however is, we confess, a strong one; for the writer who can move gracefully under the restraints of a foreign idiom, and give us the spirit of foreign poets, without the second-hand air of translations, must possess a rare talent. We have even suspected, that Mr Bowring can do more than this; that he can sometimes, like our Stuart, raise his portraits to the dignity of pictures, by throwing into them an expression of mind and character, which nature had neglected to give them. A man of such powers must do some violence to his own ambition, by condescending to the office of translator. It is true, he is repaid by admiration; but it must be remembered, that he was obliged to create the taste, which he is now gratifying. We had before occasionally seen some of the wild flowers, which grew under the leaden skies of the north of Europe, and as there was known to be no lack of misery in those regions, it was supposed, of course, that there must be poetry also; but no one had thought of a polar expedition to collect it, and we believe that Mr Bowring may claim the ground by the right of discovery, as well as successful cultivation. We remember well, that when he gave us his beautiful specimens from Russia, and from Servia (a country which might almost have been blotted from the map without our knowing it), we were almost as much taken by surprise, as by the ode, which Major Denham brought from the court of his colored majesty of Bornou.

But a better reason for noticing Mr Bowring is, that he is aiding the cause of philanthropy. By making the nations acquainted with each other's efforts in the department of imagination, he is creating in them a reciprocal interest, which at present nothing else could do. Commerce does not tend so much as might be expected, to remove the prejudices, which lead men to strife; for they have not yet learned, that the gain of one nation is not necessarily loss to another. Science seems

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to have put on a martial aspect; for who does not know what a tempest the name of *quadrant*, or *compound blow-pipe*, has awakened? But the works of imagination are welcomed every where, without jealousy, censorship, or suspicion. Nations seem to have a bowing rivalship with each other in doing homage to foreign genius. The Frenchman devours the novels of his natural enemy, and groans in admiration of Young; and England welcomes painters from America, without upbraiding them for their unnatural rebellion fifty years ago. These mutual courtesies augur well, and such sympathies may serve, in the absence of better, to bring men together, to give them common interests and pleasures, and to make them delight in these harmless displays of power, as the Greenlanders are said to fight out their quarrels, without savage meetings in the field of blood.

Certain grave men may think we attribute too much to the imagination; but truly, if national dissensions derive their strength from the imagination, we do not see why that power should not heal as well as destroy, nor why the same imagination of honor, which can muster thousands to danger, should not be able, if rightly directed, to keep them quiet at home. When a land is lighted up by the universal fire of poetic imagination in all its valleys and hills, it is no longer foreign, nor its people strangers to any other. We know and share their sentiments and feelings, and cannot feel at enmity with them. This may hereafter be the case with all the nations, and we think Mr Bowring is aiding to bring about the result, when this sword of the breast, if not beat quite into a ploughshare, shall at least be made an instrument for extending liberty, humanity, and happiness, and for breaking down the bars and boundaries, which now separate men from each other, as if their nature and real interests were not the same, as if man might have substantial reasons for not being at peace with man.

Perhaps we must hope more humbly than this; we trust, then, that by making the nations acquainted with each other's poetry, Mr Bowring is aiding the cause of freedom. Poetry naturally speaks the language of freedom, and it cannot, however *laureated*, lisp the courtly phrase without blushing; it is much more at home when bearing free sentiments from kingdom to kingdom, and stretching through them all that electric chain, from which, touch it in any part of the world, the same fire sparkles, and the same shock is given. No small portion of men feel that they are oppressed; some, like the Poles, by

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tyrants without; others, by tyrants within; and they take courage when they hear their own strong feelings expressed in the languages of different lands. Certainly a mention, like that of Poland in "The Pleasures of Hope," must be reviving to a suffering people; it gives them a pledge, that millions of hearts are on their side. Thus every Pole, who desires to be free, grows bold when he hears poets, if not politicians, say, that the second Holy Alliance is no better than the first; that their pretence of putting down anarchy is the same, which Catharine made for dismembering Poland; and that it is quite too much for their patience, to see a gallant nation destroyed by a profligate old woman, aided by an Austrian devotee, and a Prussian hero, which last name will cease to stand so high, when it pleases the world to open its eyes.

We have neither room nor materials, at present, for a history of Polish literature. The Poles (so called from *Pole*, a plain, which is a word descriptive of their soil) are the best descendants of the ancient Sarmatians. This was a name given to the vast and shifting population of northern Europe, which was continually rising with a swing, like that of the ocean, against the bounds of the Roman empire. We know nothing of their attempts at poetry, and are not disposed to lament the loss. If it be true, as was said of them, that their architecture was inferior to that of the beaver, we could not expect to find the sister arts in a very exalted state. But in later ages, the nation sustained a proud character; it was called the rampart of the christian world; the people were full of romantic daring, and exercised their courage against the Turks on one side, and the barbarous Russians on the other. A Polish army under Sobieski, drove the former from the gates of Vienna in 1683; and in the preceding century, Stephen Bathori bombarded the great Muscovite city of Moscow, as we are assured by Captain Dalgetty, though he was not present on that occasion. So late as the seventeenth century, a Czar was carried prisoner to Warsaw, and the son of a Polish king placed on the Russian throne, at least as firmly as Henry of England on that of France. As the poets are a race, who love to sun themselves in their country's glory, it might be expected that they would celebrate these memorable deeds; but other circumstances were unfavorable to their existence. Possibly this very renown of the Poles for courage, prevented some nation from doing them the favor, for which England was indebted to the

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Normans, who, in atonement for their intrusions, gave flexibility to her language, and romance to her poetical inspirations. The literature of Poland suffered under an invasion of another kind. When christianity was introduced, its teachers were generally foreigners. By their influence, the Latin was made the prevailing language, while the Polish became vulgar; and as they were the only writers, scarcely anything was published in the native tongue. This despotism lasted till the sixteenth century, when Rey of Naglowic, and Kochanowski, gave the language the ascendancy and form which it now retains. It by no means deserved to be thus neglected; Schaffarik compares its sounds to the vibrations of a guitar. Mr Bowring tells us, that it is the most polished of the Sclavonian dialects, but when written, the difficulty of accommodating twenty-four Latin letters to thirty-six Sclavonian sounds, gives it an uninviting aspect, and the accent always falling on the penultimate syllable, forms a stumblingblock in the way of versification.

But though its language was thus depressed, Poland was not behindhand in improvement. Kochanowski, of whose writings specimens are given, lived in the sixteenth century; and, excepting Chaucer, what distinguished name could England boast before that time? Wyatt and Surrey were poets, it is true; but no one would think of giving their works to a foreigner, among a few specimens of English poetry. In the sixteenth century, almost every considerable town in Poland had its printing press. The Zaluskan library, lately removed to Petersburg, contains more than twenty thousand works in this language alone; and the poets are found in an unbroken line, from the time of Sigismund Augustus, the patron of Kochanowski, down to the present day. We cannot help wishing, that the plan of placing Sir Philip Sidney on the throne of Poland, had been less a dream of romance. The character of the English Bayard was precisely fitted to charm such a people; it might possibly have added elegance to their literature, and grace to their stern virtues; and, if he could not have given a happier turn to the destiny of the nation, he would at least have been a magnificent subject for their heroes to imitate, and their bards to praise.

Some may think, that the misfortunes of a country are more quickening to poetry, than its triumphs; and it it is sometimes true, that the fountains of inspiration, which run low in the prosperous summer of a nation, are filled to overflowing by

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the storm. But time must first soften the painful recollections; poets do not find their materials in the raw chilness of the new-made grave, nor the blackness of the recent ruin. One of the living poets of Poland has appealed to the feelings of his countrymen with great power; but they must be heart-sick, while they remember by what a series of low villany they were undone; it would have been less humiliating to fall a sacrifice to the fame of some illustrious destroyer, than to sink under the plotting knavery of emperors and kings. We are glad to be informed, that misfortunes have not broken their literary spirit; three universities, beside innumerable other literary institutions, are sending knowledge through the country, and may give them an intellectual existence when the outline of their territory shall be forgotten.

It is doubtful whether their present sovereigns, if they could avoid it, would allow them even this. The three millions, who were thrown into the hands of Austria by the partition, were not tortured with attempts to break down their national distinctions; the Austrian sovereign oppressed them in a more characteristic way, by plunder and taxation. The Emperor went so far as to rob the churches of their gold and silver, and even to despoil of their ornaments the royal tombs at Cracow. This individual has not yet made any attempts to prevent the advance of knowledge; but as his views with respect to literature are known to resemble those of Jack Cade, it cannot be expected to flourish under his administration. Nearly two millions were subjected to the Prussians, whose blows at the national existence were more direct; they decreed that the German language should supersede the Polish; and thus their despotism, though less rapacious, was more grating to the Poles, because more humbling to their pride. But the Prussians professed to respect property; and when the statue of their king was erected in a Polish city, '*Suum cui*' was engraved on the pedestal; an excellent rule, if not intended wholly for the benefit of others. But the effect of the Russian government on Poland is by far the most important; it extends directly to a million and a half; and three millions and a half are included in the Russian kingdom of Poland. The Russians have not harassed the Poles with new political institutions, but as Russian civilization is confined to the higher orders, like a Corinthian capital surmounting a shapeless block, or the laced hat of an African monarch exalted above no other

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drapery than that of nature, it cannot be supposed, that the communication of the Poles with the brutal and ignorant officers and soldiery sent among them, will have any propitious effect on their intellectual character. Surely no man can wonder, that the Poles, ground to the dust by the various burdens of oppression, should have sprung with one heart, to the service of Napoleon. The moment there was a glimpse of hope, that he might restore their country, eighty thousand Poles engaged in his service; they were last in the disastrous retreat from Moscow, and clung to his broken fortunes when the rest of his allies had left him; for though he did not prove a benefactor, nor friend, he was their avenger; and therefore they cheered him onward in the 'blaze of his fame,' and mourned for him when he had fallen.

We must not look for anything very national in the specimens before us. It would be pleasant, certainly, to see a nation's character reflected in its poetry; but it is no more to be expected, than in that of individuals, where few will do the writer the kindness to believe, that his life is as pure as his song. The national poetry does not seem to depend much on the history and manners. The greater historical events will be duly commemorated, and the natural scenery will enter the service in the capacity of metaphor; but the stream of inspiration cannot retain all the images, that may have colored its waters as it flows, nor are poets, after all, the men most seriously affected by the condition of their country. In a rude age, like that of the Troubadours, when poetry is meant directly for the audience, and must charm at a first hearing, or not at all, poetry may give an exact idea of the manners and taste; but not so, when the general refinement requires more labor to please, and at the same time furnishes a supply of various materials for the poet, beside opening paths to fame, which do not require him to watch the attention of an audience, or flatter its vanity. Without pretending to give a summary character of Polish poetry, we should say that it was not remarkably national; but this may be explained by the fact, that the glory of Poland was on the wane before the age of inspiration began. It is plaintive and thoughtful, sometimes powerful and inspiring; less characteristic than the Servian, less imposing than the Russian; but by no means destitute of interest and beauty.

We give the following lines from the patriarch of their poets, Kochanowski, who died in 1584.

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'Sweet sleep! sure, man might learn to die from thee,
Who dost unravel all death's mystery;
Come spread thy balmy influence o'er my soul,
And let it soar, beyond the world's control,
Up to the realms where morning has its birth,
Down to the abyss whence darkness wraps the earth,
Where time has piled its everlasting snows,
Where parched by sunbeams not a fountain flows;
O let it count each bright and wandering star,
Or chase its mazy pilgrimage afar;
Sit in the centre, while each circling sphere
Pours its aërial music on the ear;
Drink of the o'erflowing cup of joy and peace,
While the tired body sleeps in weariness;
No dreams to hang upon its mortal breath;—
And so—undying—let it taste of death.' p. 55.

Zimorowicz lived in the polemical reign of Sigismund the Third, and died in 1629, at the early age of twenty-five; literature was at that time neglected for monkish Latin, and considering the prevailing intellectual darkness and depravity of taste, we cannot help being struck with his writings. Apart from their simplicity and beauty, we may admire them as night-blooming flowers. The following song is finely expressive of the jealous fears and sorrows of a lover

'I saw thee from my casement high,
And watched thy speaking countenance;
With silent step thou glidedst by,
And didst not cast a hurried glance
Upon my mean abode nor me.

Then misery smote me;—but for Heaven
I should have fallen scathed and dead,
I blame thee not,—thou art forgiven;
I yet may hear thy gentle tread,
When evening shall o'ermantle thee.

The evening came,—then mantling night;
I waited till the full moon towered
High in the heaven.—My longing sight
Perceived thee not;—the damp mists lowered;
In vain I sought thee anxiously.

Didst thou upon some privileged leaf
My name record, and to the wind
Commit it,—bid it charm my grief,
Bear some sweet influence to my mind,
And set me from despairing free?

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Where are the strains of music now,—
The song, the dance that morn and eve
Were heard about my house,—when low
And sweet thy voice was wont to heave
Soft sighs and gentle thoughts for me.

'T is past, 't is past—and in my heart
Is sorrow,—silence in my ear;
The vain world's wonted smiles depart;
Joy and the springtide of the year,
Fond youth! are scattered speedily.

Thou hast not said, Farewell! No sleep
Shall close my mourning eye—the night
Is gloomy now! Go, minstrel, weep!
For I shall weep—and sorrow's blight,
That scathes my heart, shall visit thee.' pp. 86, 87.

We select a few verses from another of his songs, that well represents the graceful importunity of love.

'It is not gold that I entreat,
I would not have thy riches, sweet!
I supplicate no gems from thee,
I want no rings of brilliancy;—
But give me, give me, lovely maid!
The rosemary wreath that crowns thy head.

When thou didst plant those flow'rets, thou
Didst pledge the wreath to bind my brow;—
The wreath is woven; now convey
The wreath to me, as thou didst say;
Come, give me, give me, lovely maid!
The rosemary wreath that crowns thy head.

'Twill fade ere long,—the summer sky
Will blast its bloom—its flowers will die;
Though suns be cool, and winds should sleep,
Soon autumn's chill will o'er it creep.
Come, give me, give me, lovely maid!
The rosemary wreath that crowns thy head.

O is it not a praise, a bliss,
For such a trifling gift as this,—
A few frail flowers that soon must die,
To find a friend—eternally?
Then give me, give me, lovely maid!
The rosemary wreath that crowns thy head.'
pp. 90, 92.

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Sarbiewski is so well known, by his name Casimir, for his Latin poetry, that we pass to more modern writers. Of these, Niemcewicz is distinguished as a historian and tragedian, as well as poet. He is perhaps still remembered in some parts of this country, as the companion in exile of Kosciusko. After his return from America, he published a Life of Washington. Mr Bowring has given some eloquent specimens of his prose writing. We could do no justice to his poetry by an extract, and we regret that the length of the specimens prevents us from inserting the whole of one of them. But we must hasten to Casimir Brodzinski, also a living poet, and a man of striking genius; whose works must have great power in his own land, where their tragic talent and perfect simplicity make them accessible and interesting to all, the humble as well as high, and the patriotic feeling, which bursts out everywhere, must, like the Swiss *Ranz des Vaches*, go to the hearts of men, who are enduring all the miseries of banishment, in their own country. Brodzinski's patriotism is not mere language, but a deep and burning passion; his works are not hung with black, like mourning-pieces, but the remembrance of his country's wrongs gives a solemn energy to every sentiment. We do not know whether he is old or young; possibly he may remember the short but brilliant existence of his country's freedom; he may have 'sat by its cradle, and followed it to the grave;' and though it would seem, that nothing less than a miracle can revive it, we doubt not, that if the changes of the world ever afford a gleam of hope, he will raise a trumpet-call to his countrymen, to which every heart will reply. The first specimen of his poetry alludes to the celebrated 'Polish Legion,' the remnant of Kosciusko's army, which cut its way to Italy to join the French republican forces, and afterwards served so faithfully in the campaigns of Napoleon. 'The Legionist' is a dialogue between a young Polish soldier, and an old Italian, who welcomes him as a stranger. The careless desolation of the Pole, the sorrowful revenge that swallows up every other feeling, his indifference to the luxurious climate and the perfect and ruined monuments of art, are finely contrasted with the gentle courtesy and indolent epicureanism of the Italian, who is quite unable to comprehend a character so young and so determined. It closes thus;

'Nought to me
But the harsh clarion's clang is harmony;

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That only can awake my country's sleep;
That let me hear when sinking in the deep
Dull cave of long forgetfulness. If e'er
Age should call back the blighted wanderer
To his own home; how sweet beneath the shade
Of the pale lime-tree—on the green turf laid—
To mingle with my country's sorrow, thought
Of triumphs by her exiled children bought.
Our cities are in ashes; from the block
Our youths ne'er chiseled gods; yet on the rock
By the way-side our heroes' tombs we see,
Uttering their deeds to time and history.

THE ITALIAN.

Thou fair-haired youth! these tones, so sad and stern,
Become not life's gay spring. Let old men mourn,
But thou, be joyful. Let thy country be
In God's high hand—the King of kings is he;
But thou, the black-eyed, sweet-voiced maiden take,
Forget thy griefs, thy gloomy cares forsake;
Round her thy children and thy home shall bloom,
For all the world is love and virtue's *home*.

THE POLE.

Nay! I have shed hot tears for her I love;
Nought but my country could our hearts remove.
Whene'er I close my pilgrimage, I'll bear
To my old sire my sword—my heart to her.
One common land has bound us;—this our vow,—
"Freedom and unchanged faith,"—I swear it now!

He spoke—the Ukrainian *Dumas* met his ear;
On the dark hills the Polish ranks appear;
And like an arrow with his steed he sped,
While Rome's old burgher wondering bent his head.'

pp. 180—182.

The next specimen, 'Wieslaw,' is decidedly the most interesting in the book. It gives us a picture of the Polish peasantry, who, judging from this, bear some resemblance to the Scotch in their general simplicity, and occasional shrewdness; above all, in their religious feeling. The heroine is a maiden, who was lost to her parents, when Poland was laid waste, and was found and brought up in a distant village. An old peasant suspects that he has discovered her parentage, and though she left her home in very early childhood, he resolves to ascertain it by taking her to her native place, without however communicating his suspicions to her. The troubled recollections that dawn

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upon her mind, in a region which she thinks she sees for the first time, remind us of Bertram at Ellangowan; the effect of the village bells is admirably described. She is sad and thoughtful during the journey, but as they come near the village,

'What joy, what gladness lights Halina's eye!
Why talks she now so gay and sportively!
They cross the planks—the brush-wood maze they thread,
The sheep and shepherds play upon the mead;
She listened to the artless pipe; her ear
Appeared enchanted. Was it that her dear
And now far dearer Wieslaw, had portrayed
This scene when singing to the enamored maid?
John watched her looks intensely.—Was the scene
One where her early infant steps had been?
Now rose the village steeple to the view;
The vesper-bells pealed loudly o'er the dew;
They fell upon their knees in that sweet place;
The sun-set rays glanced on Halina's face,
And she looked like an angel. Every vein
Thrilled with the awakened thoughts of youth again,
And longings which could find no words. The bell
Had burst the long-locked portals of the cell
Of memory; and mysterious visitings
And melancholy joy, and shadowy things
Flitted across her soul, and flushed her cheek
Where tear-drops gathered. To a mountain peak
They came; the village burst upon their view,
They saw the shepherds lead their cattle through
The narrow bridge; the ploughman gaily sped
From labor's cares to labor's cheerful bed.
The village like a garden reared its head,
Where many a cottage-sheltering orchard spread;
The smoke rose 'midst the trees; the village spire
Towered meekly, yet in seeming reverence, higher
Than the high trees. The yew-trees in their gloom
Hung pensive over many a peasant's tomb;
And still the bells were pealing, which had tolled
O'er generations mouldering and enrolled
In death's long records. While they looked, old John
Bent on his stick and said, "Look, maiden, on
Our village; doth it please thee? Wieslaw's cot
Is nigh at hand." She heard, but answered not;
Her looks were fixed upon one only spot;—
Her bosom heaved, her lips were dried, her eye
Spoke the deep reverie's intensity.

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Remembrance of some joy had bound her soul;
She breathed not, but moved on;—a cottage wall
Soon caught her eye, and near, a cross appeared;
'Twas ivy-clad and crumbling;—for 't was reared
In the old time;—a willow-tree—a sod,
Where the gay children of the village trod
On holidays, were there. She could no more;
She dropped o'erpowered upon the grassy floor,
And cried, "O God! O God!—'t was here, 't was here
I lived! Where is my mother? Tell me, where?
If she be dead, I 'll seek her grave, and weep
My orphan soul away to rouse from sleep
Her blessed form.—'T was here I played of old;—
'T was here I gathered flowers; but I behold
My mother's cot no longer,—thought flies o'er
Its memory;—but that cot exists no more."'

pp. 214—216.

This extract is a long one, but we trust that none of our readers will wish it shorter. The longer specimens are better than the lyrics for giving an idea of the poetry in general. We cannot help wishing, that Mr Bowring had acquainted us with his own sentiments, as to the various character of his originals; the few extracts he affords may mislead us in our judgment of the whole; at least they are not numerous enough to sustain a decided opinion. The metopes would not give us much idea of the Parthenon, unless we knew their place and proportion. Mr Bowring has little of the book-making propensity about him; but it is not our business to find fault with what is generally a virtue. He is now employed, we understand, on a history of the literature of Bohemia, which is intended to embrace *Specimens of the Popular Songs of the Moravians, Sclavonians, Bulgarians, and other Sclavonic Races.* This work promises to be one of much interest. The author relies not on materials gathered at second hand. Warmed with a genuine enthusiasm, he travels in the countries themselves, and plucks his flowers fresh from their native stems. Translations of Finnish, Laplandish, and Esthonia poetry will follow in due time. We heartily wish him success in his perambulations amidst these novel fields of imaginative literature, which he has hitherto explored with so much credit to himself, and so much benefit to the reading world.

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ART. VII. *Speeches in Congress, as published in the Newspapers;* 1826, 1827.

THE range of the human mind is almost infinite, but the particular departments to which it may be directed, especially in most branches of literature, will sooner or later be filled, and no resort remain but to repetition. Some critics have asserted, for instance, that epic poems, which would be read, can no longer be produced. Homer, Virgil, Milton, Tasso, and Camoens, without citing more recent names, have exhausted the process. Tragedy also has no field untouched, and though the French, with their crowds of theatre-going idlers, now and then sustain a new one for a few nights, by the aid of an occasional political allusion, which seriously alarms the court and the police of that volatile nation, it falls into oblivion with the modes of the season. Even comedy, which perhaps has more numerous combinations, in the proportion that the ridiculous bears to the terrific in human character, yet even every principal comic emotion, pursuit, situation, or trick, has been exhausted in the many thousands of comedies, which Spain, France, and England have produced, without taking into the account other nations ancient and modern. The result is, that formal epics are abandoned for irregular lyrical narratives, while tragedy and comedy have given way to melodrame and pantomime.

Forensic oratory and parliamentary debating seem to be quite as much exhausted; the great masterpieces of Greece, Rome, and England, together with some specimens in our country, have gone over all the great topics, exhibited all the masterly resorts of rhetoric, and nothing remains to make a debate endurable, but the accidental occurrence of some really powerful, momentary excitement; which, however, is too often attempted to be raised by the mere feverish turbulence of partisans, while their insipid commonplaces, and mock attempts at dignity that neither they nor the subject possess, occasion their harangues to fall stale, flat, and unprofitable, on a tired, disgusted audience.

The evil, though carried to greater extent with us, is not confined to our country. The abuse is very great in England, and the public there seem equally tired of it; and as the ministers in that country have a seat in one or the other house, it

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falls with oppressive weight upon them. Indeed, we recollect a few years since, when a great many changes had been rung on the same question, though under the form of a different motion, being prolonged through many nights, that the Lord Chancellor seriously insinuated, that there seemed to be a determination to incapacitate his majesty's ministers for performing their duty during the day, by harassing them every night with a debate. There is an opinion on this topic, expressed in a posthumous letter of Lord Byron, which is by no means confined to him. After briefly describing, with admirable discrimination, some of the chief contemporary speakers, he concludes; 'But among all these, good, bad, and indifferent, I never heard the speech which was not too long for the auditors, and not very intelligible, except here and there. The whole thing is a grand deception, and as tedious and tiresome as may be, to those who must be often present.'

Yet the aristocratic and arrogant habits of the British parliament keep down the evil in part; it is only a chosen few, who have fought their way through many a combat, whom the majority will yawn at with forbearance. If a man unknown to fame, a mere prosing, jury-confounding arguer, or vain, tiresome country gentleman, or conceited cit, should attempt a display, he would be coughed and scraped down; and all these classes, which dilate with impunity among us, would be compressed into silence.

Though to some we may appear to write with too much frankness, we apprehend that a majority of the nation will agree with us, and would be glad to have the proposition established; that, speeches in Congress have increased, are increasing, and ought to be diminished. The House of Representatives are the natural, immediate guardians of the people,—but who are to guard the guardians? Undoubtedly there is more than one member of that important body, who would be startled at a charge of abuse against it. They indeed have their professed censors and tribunes, who are perpetually imputing corruption and abuses to other branches of the government. They are constantly smelling and winking, and on the eve of detecting some enormity. From the excessive salaries of the secretaries—(we must save our feelings by speaking strait forward in a parenthesis—the despicable, parsimonious stipend paid to the highest labor, and most intense anxiety, not equalling the gains of mediocrity in many of the ordinary

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professions of life), from these splendid emoluments, down to the moderate, decent remuneration of the clerks, no winter escapes without some magnificent attempt at reduction, some huge effort at economy. Now we really believe our government in all its branches to be freer from abuses, than any other in the world; and this arises from our having no ancient malpractices consecrated by time, no privileges radicated beyond the power of extraction; and, besides, to its being subject to a publicity the most unsparing and uncontrolled. Yet we are equally of opinion, that in the abuses which do creep in, by far the largest and the most costly proportion is to be found in the legislative branch; in the department occupied by the guardians and representatives of the people's rights.

We allude not now to the paltry considerations of their daily pay, of their expenses of printing, &c. &c., but to the evils produced by this pestilent abuse of debating. We ask the nation to judge between their representatives and us poor critics; we ask men conversant with public affairs, to look back for a few sessions, and see how many great measures of national importance have been delayed, or are still postponed, by this vile prurience for debate. And if these questions are too general to be felt, we come to suffering individuals, with real or imaginary claims, who have journeyed from distant parts of the Union, wasted month after month in expectancy, and at last have been put off to another and another session, because there was no time for investigation!

This evil has gradually gained upon the Senate, until it is almost as much infected as the other house; and the course is still more unwise in them. Surely they may disdain the poor display, the ignoble triumph of common disputation. When the smallness of their number, the independence, the bodies and interests represented, and the functions of which they constitutionally partake, are considered, we think it no exaggeration to say, that they are the most respectable parliamentary house in any government. True it is, a temporary shade has passed over them, but this, like other shadows, will leave no mark. If, then, this body would relinquish the superfluity of debate, their greater progress in public business would be a salutary check on the other house, and goad them to a more punctual and efficient discharge of public duty.

If any person should think these remarks unfounded, and

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that this abuse of what Bentham would call *speechification*, does not exist, we refer him to the speeches of the members for any one session; he will see that they themselves are conscious of their offences, and that three out of four begin with an excuse, or some attempt to excite commiseration by complaints of ill health, but that their sense of public duty is so strong, that they will speak, though they sink under the effort. It would be something gained, if ill health could be considered as an excuse, or enforced as a disqualification. There is no aristocratic remedy, as in England, of scraping and coughing; but they connive at and bear each other out, having the same object in view; and there is no intrepid reformer to take the part of the nation, and ask them, Why do ye so?

The obvious remedy for the evil would be found by not publishing the speeches *in extenso*. Because, in most cases, it is not the effect of the speech in the house, that the debater thinks or cares about. His object is to get his speech into the newspaper, and besides its circulation in that shape, the printer, for a trifling fee, breaks up his endless columns into a dingy, pamphlet page; and these precious missives the member despatches to sundry of his constituents, who stare with pleasure at the efforts of their representative, and have their pride gratified in receiving a communication '*free*.' Were the postage demanded, most of them would be inhumed in the dead-letter office, and come back to that bourne, the general post office, whence they proceeded. If only the substance of the speech was given, the real arguments of the speaker stated, as there would be the three grains of wheat in the five bushels of chaff, a most salutary corrective would be applied, and the editor besides enabled to devote a large part of his paper to useful and entertaining miscellanies, and his readers would get a much clearer insight into public affairs.

But the printers also are partly interested in the abuse, as this great repository of words furnishes them matter, without the pains of selecting or originating more valuable materials; and, besides, the same types undergoing the easy evolution of change of column, and broken up into little octavo or duodecimo squads, are paid for by the garrulous member, for the purpose of being distributed as we have before mentioned; and this fictitious new edition gives its emolument. But the journal, by becoming more valuable, would in the end gain more by giving the abstract we have recommended, fairly stating all

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the arguments, and omitting merely the excuses, the declamation, and the sad inanity of faded commonplaces. The public unquestionably would be better instructed, their passions would be less excited, and they would understand more clearly, and judge more wisely of the chief topics of national concern. In this manner one column would condense and rectify the bewildering confusion, that now spreads over four; while the journal would become brighter, more varied, more edifying, more valuable. The very appearance would be worth the alteration. We appeal to nine out of ten of the subscribers, to the metropolitan journals, during, and for some time after, a session of Congress; we ask them with what emotions they see those wide, folio pages of a desolating debate, unbroken, unvaried as a wild heath or interminable prairie, with no apparent resting-place, or object in relief, whether they are not glad to thank misery for a change, and hail with delight the appearance of one of those treaties in which '*Eho-che-nunga, the Madman*,' or '*Sho-mon-e-ka-sa, the Prairie Wolf*,' assents to the exterminating progress of civilization.

We repeat it, the common routine of parliamentary speaking is no longer tolerable. The forms of oratory are as much used and worn, as the epic, the tragic, or the comic. The evil we deplore is increasing; the nation must set their faces against it, insist on having their business attended to, and not trifled with in debates. There will still be ample space left in the caucus, or in the courts of the country. There, in serving as jurymen, from which none are exempt, we may submit to the hammerers, and splitters, and spinners, who satisfy litigants that they earn their fees by laboring in their vocation, and as quiet citizens be resigned to our fate, when our turn comes to hear law, justice, and equity 'so bethumped with words.' But the same individuals must not transfer the same habits into the halls of congress. Nothing, however, short of a general rising in public feeling, will intimidate the offenders, and produce a reform; because, though there are some who have a better sense of the matter, there are many among them, who, it would seem, from their simplicity, confined reading, and a social intercourse limited to very narrow circles, really think they are making a pretty display, and are quite unaware how jejune, tedious, and rediculous these harangues appear to persons of larger experience. Let them inquire of some one who is willing to tell them the truth, and they will be astonished

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to learn, like Molière's Bourgeois Gentilhomme, that in these labored discussions they have been most sadly prosing all the time.

We have already hinted at some mechanical checks, which it is in the power of the printers to interpose in behalf of the nation. But we have an idea, that whenever some original mind with adequate talent and sagacity, takes up this subject, that a great and favorable change may be produced by striking out an entirely different course, and M'Adamizing the worn-out, jolting path. We cannot go further now than throw out the hint, from the fear of being tiresome, a quality, which reviewers should bear in mind is not confined to speaking; and also from our plan being as yet imperfectly conceived; and because we may possibly be in a situation to attain the glory of introducing it ourselves. However, to put those whose eyes are still bandaged in the right direction to grope for it, we will refer them to the study of Franklin, who fortunately could not make a speech, yet not only enjoyed great influence from his wisdom, but produced most powerful effects on assemblies by the mode of illustration he adopted. Let them reflect on this subject, and see if they cannot invent a new style of persuasion, introduce a very eloquent if not oratorical method, and cause the abandonment of effete, exhausted practice. If none of them will take advantage of these suggestions, we shall be half tempted, from patriotic motives, to make the reformation ourselves; and, should we succeed, we should wish no higher claim to gratitude, than to have it inscribed on our tablet,—*He reformed the congressional mode of debating, so that it was compressed into one fourth of the space it formerly occupied.*

ART. VIII. *Lettres sur l'Angleterre;* par le BARON DE STAEL-HOLSTEIN. 8vo. pp. 428. Paris. 1825.

THE author of this work is the son of the celebrated female writer, with whose name we have so often had occasion to adorn our pages, and whose premature loss we so lately regretted. With her illustrious title, he seems also to have inherited some of her most valuable qualities, and exhibits already

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the elevation of thought and feeling, the attachment to literary pursuits, and the generous passion for liberty, that so honorably distinguished the daughter of Necker. Avoiding the frivolous and merely sensual pursuits, that exclusively occupy the attention of the greater part of the young European nobility, he devotes his life and ample fortune to the cultivation of science and letters, and the encouragement of every project that tends to diffuse knowledge, promote civilization, and improve the condition of society. We may venture to add (if it be not indelicate to mention the name of a lady, who has not yet voluntarily introduced herself to the public), that his sister, the Duchess of Broglie, is not less distinguished by all the accomplishments and virtues that grace the walks of private life in its highest and most polished circles. It is known that Madame de Staël bestowed much attention upon the education of her children, and was fortunate enough to obtain the aid of one of the most eminent German scholars, Baron A. W. de Schlegel, in the direction of their studies. The success, which has attended her efforts, does great honor to her judgment and maternal affection, and in general to the intellectual and moral character of all the parties. While we regard with strong disapprobation the European system of hereditary magistracies, we cannot but view the lineal transmission of the real nobility of nature, namely, preëminence in worth and talent, as one of the most agreeable spectacles which the moral world affords. It seems to relieve, in some degree, the distress with which every benevolent mind must be affected, by observing how much immorality and even gross depravity are almost unavoidably produced by the influence, that vicious parents necessarily exercise over the character of their offspring.

Baron de Staël was advantageously known to the literary world, before the publication of the present work, by several political pamphlets, and by an edition of the works of Necker, with a life by himself. The 'Letters on England' are, we believe, the first independent essay of much extent that has proceeded from his pen. Without pretending to the character of an elaborate and standard production, it has nevertheless merits of a high order, and affords a fair promise of what may be expected from the maturer labors of the author, should he continue—as we trust he will, and as his illustrious mother and grandfather did before him—to cultivate the field of letters with increasing

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zeal and assiduity, as he advances in years. The present work is in substance a series of political and philosophical essays on the theory and practice of the British government; and belongs of course to a class of writings, which, when executed with a talent corresponding to their importance, rise above the level of ordinary travels. The author displays throughout a thorough and intimate acquaintance with his subject, as well as a wide investigation of others that are naturally connected with it, together with the rare endowments of a power of original thought, and a truly liberal and philosophic temper. The style is pure, unaffected, and simply elegant. It has little or none of the warm poetical coloring that illuminated, sometimes to excess, the pages of the author of Corinna. The genius of the son may perhaps, in this respect, be different from that of the mother; or he may possibly have considered an attempt at rhetorical beauty of language, as inconsistent with the sober discussion of the gravest subjects, which forms the staple of the work, and may reserve his flights of fancy and his 'words that burn,' for future and more suitable occasions.

It would be superfluous to enlarge at this time of day, upon the intense interest that attaches itself to every well conducted inquiry into the principles of the British constitution, the great model of all the forms of free government, including our own, that have been established within the last half century in Europe and America. It is also not a little extraordinary, considering the extreme importance of the subject, as a theme of philosophical examination, that it should be still not only not exhausted, but we may almost say, unattempted. The essay of Delolme is the only one that has acquired any considerable notoriety; and this, although it has been found useful on the continent, as a sort of directory to mere external points, is entirely superficial, and is in fact a work of jurisprudence, rather than of politics. During the last fifty years, the attention of the British public has been constantly occupied by the controversies between different parties repecting the spirit and principles of the Constitution; but notwithstanding the large supply of cultivated talent that seems in that country prepared to meet, and even anticipate every demand that can be made upon it, no duly qualified pen has undertaken to settle, or rather to prevent these debates, by establishing beyond dispute the elementary truths of political science, as exemplified and

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practised in England. This is one of the striking proofs of the neglect into which the great subject of moral philosophy, in all its departments, has now fallen, in the country of Bacon and Locke; and of the extent to which the whole mass of British intellect is occupied, in ministering to the pursuits and pleasures of merely practical life. Baron de Staël has not attempted to supply the deficiency alluded to, but has selected a few of the most interesting questions connected with the subject, which he successively discusses, each in several letters. These are the *state of property*, and its influence on the welfare of the nation; the *state of the press;* and finally the effect of the *public assemblies* of various kinds that are constantly meeting for political objects, including the two houses of Parliament among the number. In connexion with this last point, the author examines the question of *parliamentary reform*, and the peculiar opinions of the Whigs and Radicals respecting it. We shall briefly review his remarks upon each of these topics, interspersing occasionally such observations of our own, as may be suggested by them.

In one or two letters, which serve as a sort of introduction to the rest, Baron de Staël touches on the difficulties that attend an inquiry into the principles of the British government, and notices particularly the singular fact alluded to above, of the exclusively practical character that distinguishes all the debates and other political discussions of every description, written or verbal. We are tempted to quote a part of his remarks on this head, as they tend to confirm our own opinion, and illustrate what we think a curious feature in the present moral aspect of the mother country. Our author contrasts, in this respect, the habits of the British statesmen with those of the French, who are perhaps too much accustomed to indulge in general inquiries, especially in connexion with the practical despatch of business.

'Our philosophical writers and speakers,' says the Baron, 'rise to loftier heights of speculation, and lay down general principles with much more precision than those of England. I was one day reading some of our late pamphlets, most remarkable for vigor and expansion of thought, with Sir James Mackintosh, whose philosophical reputation is too well established to require any aid from my pen, and I took the occasion to inquire what impression they made upon him. "They are admirably done," replied he, "but in our country *we take all this for granted.*" In fact, what

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is still problematical with us, is reduced to axioms with the English; and they employ in acting, the time which we spend in demonstrating or teaching. This is an immense advantage which they have over us, for axioms or settled principles may be turned to account by any one; while very few persons are able to understand a demonstration, and profit by the truth which results from it. If a shipmaster were obliged, before he could take an altitude, to settle the principles of trigonometry and astronomy employed in that operation, and make them out to the satisfaction of his men, instead of using rules that are previously prepared, he would very probably run his vessel ashore. Now political forms, and the habits created by them, are the rules of the science of government. They should doubtless be constructed on sound theoretical principles; but when this has once been done, it is a loss of time to be always engaged in tracing them to their sources. Nevertheless, the respect for existing forms may be carried too far, and without meaning to deny the superiority of the English over us in this respect, it is certain that they fall, to a greater or less extent, into this error.

I was a witness myself of something of the kind that occurred in a debate in the House of Commons, in the year 1822, upon a motion made by Mr Canning to allow the Catholic Peers to take their seats in the House of Lords, from which, as is well known, they have been excluded ever since the real or pretended Popish Plot. This motion succeeded with the Commons, but failed in the House of Peers, after a very remarkable discussion. I had the good fortune to be present on this occasion, and have rarely enjoyed a higher intellectual entertainment. All the principal Peers of both parties, including the Lord Chancellor, Lord Liverpool, Lords Grey, Holland, Grenville, and others, took a part in the debate. The avowed object of the motion was to prepare the way for the emancipation of the Catholics; and this was the ground on which it was sustained by its friends and attacked by its enemies. It was therefore, as I thought, natural to expect that the debate would have turned, in a great measure, on general principles. Instead of this, they were not mentioned; nobody once thought of such a thing. The immediate practical effects of the measure proposed, occupied exclusively the attention of the orators and of the public. It may be said, no doubt, that the general principles belonging to the inquiry had been exhausted by seventeen years of continual discussion; and also that it was the policy of the friends of the motion to limit the range of the debate as much as possible; but after making all proper allowance for these circumstances, I cannot but think that my remark is in the main correct.

Lord Holland exhibited on this occasion the union of close rea-

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soning and warm feeling, that belongs, as it were, by consanguinity, to the nephew of Fox. But in this speech, which, as I am told, approached very near to the most successful efforts of his illustrious uncle, his only object was to establish, by reference to the history of the period, the absurdity of the evidence on which a decision had been taken against the Catholic Peers. Though familiar with the highest questions in political and moral philosophy, he never once thought of touching upon them in debate. The Lord Chancellor's speech was not less remarkable in this respect. The proposition on which he founded his conclusions, was simply this. If the Protestant religion cease to be the dominant one in Great Britain, the Catholic will of course become so. It was easy to see, by the energy and warmth of his manner, that he was perfectly sincere in the opinion. This profound lawyer, who had grown gray in the practical business of legislation and administration, had never once conceived the notion, that it was possible for a government to exist without an established religion.

Suppose now the same question to be debated in one of the French Chambers; and there cannot be a doubt that the leading topics would be, liberty of conscience, the nature of the relation between Church and State, and the general principles that recommend religious toleration. It is equally certain, that under circumstances at all favorable, the public feeling would be strongly engaged; and thus far the advantage is perhaps on our side. But these discussions, however able, would have produced only a transient effect. The question might have been carried; but whenever the tide of public opinion or of ministerial influence should have happened to set the other way, it would have been lost again with equal promptitude. In England old opinions are more firmly established, and attempts at innovation are met by a stronger resistance; but when a victory is once gained, it is gained forever.'

Our readers, we think, will be struck with the general correctness, in point of fact, of these remarks, upon the style of parliamentary discussion in England. The debate that took place last spring in the House of Commons, upon the same question of Catholic emancipation, afforded another singular exemplification of their substantial truth. There was certainly no want of ability in the principal speakers on both sides. Mr Canning, Sir John Copley (the present Lord Chancellor), and Mr Peel are orators and statesmen, of whom any country might well be proud; and their speeches on this occasion were not inferior to their just renown; but were still con-

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ceived in all respects on the common model of British eloquence. No attempt was made by any one to settle the general principles of toleration and of the natural relation between religion and government, or to arrive at a decision of the question by the aid of any great elementary truth, of which the admission should supersede all controversies about minor points. The debate turned wholly upon the direct and practical effects likely to result from the adoption or rejection of the measure proposed. The tone of discussion corresponded with the substance; and instead of putting on the serious air which would probably accompany a more regular examination of the theory of these great points, the orators indulged with perfect freedom in bursts of petulence, and in sallies of pleasantry, approaching to buffoonery. Mr Canning and Sir John Copley nearly came to a personal altercation; and the former entertained his audience with much excellent wit about the Pope's bulls, which were supposed to be roaming at large about the country, to the great danger of His Majesty's loyal subjects, but which he was not afraid to take by the horns. Rapturous cheers, accompanied by hearty and unanimous laughter, attested the success of this appeal to the good nature of a British Senate; and a stranger who had entered the hall at the moment, would hardly have suspected, from the aspect of the audience, the nature of the question in debate. The Catos of the House might perhaps have repeated with more than equal propriety, the sarcastic remark of their Roman prototype upon Cicero—*Quàm ridiculum habemus Consulem!*

But these are accidental matters of little moment, and we cordially agree with our author in approving the practical character of the debates in the British parliament, and preferring it to the more scientific and theoretical one which marks those of the French chambers. It is in fact impossible to discuss general principles with impartiality and coolness, in connexion with practical questions, involving immediate interests of great importance; and the effect of attempting it is merely to vitiate the public opinion respecting the principles, without altering in any way the decision of the point in dispute. It is possible, for instance, that the present mode of electing the president of the United States, may be susceptible of improvement; but it is evident, that in order to be decided upon its merits, the question should be considered without reference to the circumstances of any particular contest, or to the preference

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that individuals may feel for any particular candidate for the office. Whenever it may be taken up, as it has been twice in the short period of our political history, under the excitement of a recent election, it will of course be decided, as it was in both those cases, by the momentary party feelings and interests of the members of Congress; and it will be fortunate for the country, if the decisions made under such circumstances shall always be, as on the second occasion, against innovation.

But while we agree with our author in his preference for a practical and matter-of-fact style of parliamentary debate, we also think with him, that the leading British orators, and we may add, those of our our country, might recur with advantage, *more frequently than they do, to general principles, not as* questions to be discussed, but as axioms or settled elementary truths. To acquire a familiarity with the theory of political science, is (or should be) a part of the discipline of practical statesmen; and if all or most of those who assume this character, were as fully prepared for the discharge of its duties as might be wished, the most important principles would be agreed upon among them by common consent. Unfortunately, the aids necessary for the acquisition of such an education are almost wholly wanting both in England and the United States. The science of government, and even history, which forms its natural complement, are nearly overlooked in the usual routine of collegiate and professional studies; and most of our statesmen enter the halls of Congress and of the state legislatures, unprovided with any other notions on the great subjects of politics, ethics, political economy, and history, ancient and modern, excepting such as they have picked up by chance in their leisure reading. How then can they recur with precision and certainty, upon each particular question, to the appropriate general truth, which ought to govern the debate, and would in most cases supersede it? Lord Holland may be, as Baron de Staël assures us that he is, familiar with moral and political philosophy, and may avoid recurring to principles from habit or compliance with the prevalent taste; but with most practical statesmen, the reason lies in their want of acquaintance with the principles.

This defect can only be remedied by a change in our system of public education; and we are happy to perceive a pretty strong tendency towards an improvement of this kind, already exhibiting itself in several parts of our country. The

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professorships of political economy lately established in some of our colleges will effect much real good; and we cannot but hope that our venerable Alma Mater at Cambridge will not, in this respect, fall behind her younger sisters. The magnificent donation of Mr Gore will afford the means of establishing one or two foundations; and we should be highly gratified to see a part of it appropriated in this way. It is really singular that while we have had double and triple professorships for most of the branches of physical science, and for dead languages, of less direct utility, we have had only half a one for the vast field of politics, and ethics, and political economy, and none at all for history. Of these subjects, the last is left entirely to the tutors, and less insisted on than any other branch of study. We make not these remarks in the spirit of cavil, but in that of friendly suggestion; and we trust that they will be received as proceeding from warm friends and sincere well-wishers of the College. But we have much matter and little space before us, and must hurry away from these interesting topics.

The state of property in England, and its influence on the political and economical condition of the people, are treated by our author at considerable length. We hardly know how to dispose of this vast subject in two or three paragraphs; but must nevertheless be indulged in a few hasty notes. This is almost the only point upon which the opinions of M. de Staël differ decidedly from those which prevail in England. He is a declared partisan of the system of an equal division of estates among all the children upon the death of the proprietor; while the law of primogeniture, by which all real estates pass to the eldest son, is established in England, as our readers are aware, to a greater extent than in any other part of the world. This principle is in fact in the mother country, the *common law* that regulates the descent of landed property; while in most other countries, as for instance in Spain, it forms an exception, though one of extensive application, to the general rule. In Spain, landed estates are equally distributed among the children of the proprietor, excepting when they are tied up by an entail, or, as it is called there, a *mayorazgo*; but as this is uniformly the case with the immense possessions of the grandees, and as those of the clergy are unalienable, it follows that nearly the whole of the land is kept out of the common market, as in England.

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It is generally acknowledged that the Spanish grandees are intellectually and morally the most degraded and imbecile body of nobility in Europe; while the British aristocracy, whatever may be their defects, are commonly reckoned, as a class, superior to any other. Our author touches this point, and endeavors to account for the difference. 'In England,' he observes, 'nobility, far from being exclusively hereditary, is accessible to every one who is worthy of it, and is open to all on the principle of fair competition. The public opinion of a free people is also more effective in stimulating the faculties than the soporific influence of hereditary wealth and fortune in destroying them.' The first of these reasons is, we think, of little weight. Nobility is not less accessible in other countries than it is in England. The king of Spain creates as many grandees and *Titulos de Castilla* as the king of Great Britain does marquesses and earls; and the only difference is, that in the former case, titles are generally obtained by mere intrigue, while in the latter they are more frequently the reward of actual merit.

The cause of this diversity is the power exercised in England by public opinion over the movements of the king and his ministers; so that this same wholesome control, which the Baron assigns as the second reason for the superiority of the British aristocracy, is in fact the only one. After all, we are inclined to think him (partially at least) mistaken in the fact; and if it be generally allowed that the British aristocracy, as a class, is superior to any other, it is, we apprehend, because it always regularly contains a large proportion of members who do not properly belong to it as such, but have been placed in it by the government (acting in obedience to public opinion), in acknowledgment of the eminent qualities which they had displayed in another. If at any given moment we survey the list of the British House of Lords for the time being, we shall find that most of the members of it, who are in any way distinguished for worth or talent, have either been created peers themselves, or were born and educated before their fathers had risen to rank and opulence. Within our time, for example, the late and the present Lord Chancellor, the two Liverpools, father and son, Lords Grey, Grenville, Redesdale, Lauderdale, Erskine, Thurlow, &c. were all titled commoners. The illustrious Wellesley family, though technically noble, was a poor and decayed branch of the Irish aristocracy. Lord Byron

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came to his title and fortune by accident. In all these cases, the aristocratic principle had no room to operate; and we rather suppose, that on a fair examination, it would be found that the *bonâ fide* British nobility is not much better than that of the Continent. Do we see the descendants of Warwick and Marlborough leading on the British armies to victory? or those of Oxford and Bolingbroke preëminent in council or in parliament? Are the Shaftesburys, Verulams, and Boyles of our own day, like their illustrious ancestors,—the lights and benefactors of the age? Is it possible to point out a single person of this or any former period, who has felt the full influence of hereditary rank and fortune, and who is in any way distinguished for high intellectual and moral excellence? Should it even be practicable on an accurate research to indicate a few exceptions, the general rule will hardly, we think, be denied. The effect of the aristocratic principle, of which the law of primogeniture is the essential feature, upon the persons immediately subject to its influence, is, therefore, the same in England as it is elsewhere; that is, ruinous to every valuable quality of mind and heart; and the exception, which M. de Staël is disposed to make in favor of the British nobility, is, we fear, grounded either in personal partialities, or in a failure to discriminate between peers of new and old creation.

The economical effect of the law of primogeniture is another question on which the public opinion of Europe is much divided. Our author adopts decidedly the liberal sentiment; and holds that an equal division of estates among the children of the owner, has the happiest influence on the wealth of individuals and of the nation. He states some facts in regard to the extent to which the subdivision of the land has been carried in the neighborhood of his own castle of Copet in Switzerland, that we think curious.

'The estate of Copet is situated in a part of French Switzerland, which was prepared for liberty by the protestant religion, by the general diffusion of knowledge, and by the paternal, if not enlightened, government of Berne; and which now enjoys in quiet happiness the blessings of independence. The land around my estate is generally subdivided to such an extent, that *most of the farms contain less than an acre.* I can venture, notwithstanding, to affirm that no part of Europe exhibits an appearance of equal prosperity. Not only is there no excess of population, but the rate of wages is actually higher than in any other country on the

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Continent. The benevolent can hardly find objects on which to exercise their charity; and the few distressed persons who gratefully receive such assistance as is offered them with kindness, would disdainfully refuse it if proposed with the least affectation of superiority. The poor exhibit no jealousy of the better fortunes of the rich, nor is there either base servility on the one side, or lofty arrogance on the other. No false pride deters any one from embracing any useful profession. All are independent and happy.'

This is indeed a charming picture, and it is the more remarkable, since the subdivision of the land has been pushed in this instance, to an extent which we should have thought unnatural and inconvenient. We see not, in fact how a family can subsist upon the product of less than an acre. The value of a peck of wheat a day is considered as the ordinary wages necessary for the support of a laborer in England; and if we make the large estimate of forty bushels of wheat to an acre, and allow nothing for seed for the next year, the number of pecks will still be only one hundred and sixty, which is less than half the quantity required. If the Baron's representation be strictly correct, it will necessarily follow that all these families have some other resource besides the cultivation of their little *peculium;* and in that case it is evident, that the division of estates has been carried to an inconvenient extent, since it counteracts the great and beneficial principle of the division of labor. Of ten or twelve neighboring families, it is better for the comfort and happiness of all, that a part should raise agricultural products for the common support, and the rest produce something else to be given in exchange for them, than that each should raise half its own grain, and also produce something else wherewith to purchase the other half, and such other articles as are wanted at the nearest market. We call this extreme subdivision of the land *unnatural*, as well as inconvenient; for when the estate of a deceased proprietor is so small, that, if divided among all his children, the portions would not be sufficiently large to support a family comfortably, it seems to us more natural that an arrangement should be made, by the effect of which one of the heirs should receive the land, and should pay to the rest an equivalent for their shares in money. Such, we believe, is the common mode of proceeding in this country, nor are we aware, notwithstanding the length of time that the law of equal partition has been in force among us,

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that it has ever produced any inconvenience of the kind here specified.

We agree entirely with our author in regard to the economical operation of the two systems, and consider that of equal partition, as every way much more favorable to the wealth and happiness of society. The tendency of it is to bring more land into cultivation, and thus to increase the number of inhabitants on a given territory; while at the same time it improves their condition, economical and moral. The hereditary proprietor of a very large landed estate, like those that are found in all parts of the continent of Europe, is of course by the effect of his social position, education, and habits, a man of pleasure, rather than business. His affairs are badly managed by stewards and attorneys, and his immense resources are turned to no account. Such is the case with nearly all the Spanish grandees, most of whom, with whole provinces in their possession, are in want of money to pay their tradesmen and servants. When estates are managed in this way, large portions of them remain uncultivated; other tracts of great extent are converted into forests, parks, and pleasure grounds, and it is only upon the remainder that the industry of the people is really employed. Thus the number of agricultural laborers who would otherwise be kept at work, is greatly reduced, and population proportionally diminished. The few that find employment, having no property in the land, and lying wholly at the mercy of the owner, are generally found in a wretched condition; and in all the less improved parts of Europe, are in a state of actual slavery.

Such, we believe, to be the natural effect of this system, because we find it taking place almost universally wherever the system prevails. Strong moral and political causes may no doubt counteract its injurious influence, as they do in England; where the extraordinary activity with which the principle of liberty has inspired every branch of industry, has so far remedied the evils that result from the law of primogeniture, that the land, though held in very large estates, is better cultivated than in any other part of Europe; and where the actual cultivators, although they have only a temporary interest in the soil, are nevertheless nearly or quite as independent, enlightened, and moral, as the small freeholders of our own country. Every view that can be taken of the condition of man in all its varieties, brings us back to the conclusion that *liberty*, secured

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and regulated by wise laws, is the exclusive principle of individual and national prosperity; and that where it has opportunity to work out its full effect, it is powerful enough to purge off almost every element of evil. The late Lord Londonderry, was accustomed to assure his continental brother ministers, in the effusions of diplomatic confidence, that he did not consider the liberal features of the British constitution, as the best parts of it. With all proper deference to his lordship's judgment, we must express the belief, that he was entirely mistaken on this point; that these principles are not only the best parts of that constitution, and the direct sources of all the good that is enjoyed under its protection, but that they are also the powerful antidotes which serve, in part, to correct the poison of certain other principles, more agreeable, perhaps, to Lord Londonderry's taste, but which, if left unchecked to their natural operation, would very soon depopulate, impoverish, and completely ruin the country. Without the general influence of freedom, Kent would very shortly be as Castile, and Liverpool as Cadiz, in spite of all the 'leather and prunella,' that grace the persons of the lords and their ladies, on a coronation day. This consideration brings us very naturally to the *state of the press*, which is the next great topic taken up by our author.

On this subject, as on all the others treated in the work, the opinions of M. de Staël, are decidedly liberal. He takes for granted the expediency of a free press, and indeed its absolute necessity to the existence of free government. His remarks on the character and circulation of the British periodical works, and of their value, as compared with those of France, will be found interesting by our readers.

'The periodical press is, in all countries, one of the most important results of modern civilization; but it nowhere forms so essential an ingredient in the organization of society, as in England and the United States. In other countries, the newpapers are a powerful engine, wielded alternately by the government, and the various political parties; but in the two just mentioned they are the indispensable agent for every species of social communication. There are few villages in England, where the newspaper is not regarded as a necessary of life; and I am assured, that in America, domestics often make it a condition in their engagement, that they shall be allowed to read such as are taken in by the family. [*Quære de hoc.*] But even in England,

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the circle of readers is comparatively much larger than with us. It is computed that there are about a thousand circulating libraries in the kingdom, and more than three hundred book-clubs, a well imagined institution, that might be introduced with profit among us. The number of newspapers has quadrupled within forty years. In 1782, it was estimated at seventy-nine, and in 1821, in a report made to the House of Commons, at two hundred and eighty-four. With the exception of *The Observer*, a weekly paper, none of these journals (which are all much dearer than those of France) have as many subscribers as the *Constitutionel*, or the *Journal des Debats*. Even *The Times*, which has now a larger circulation than any other daily paper, does not print more than eight or ten thousand copies, but each passes through many more hands than with us. The writers in these journals, are obliged in consequence, to accommodate their language, in some degree, to the popular taste; and often employ a familiar and even coarse phraseology, in order to please the lower classes. "When I took charge of *The North Briton*," said the noted John Wilkes, "I found it in the hands of Churchill and Lloyd, who were men of taste and wit. I soon saw that this would not answer; and giving up all pretensions to elegance of style, I began to cry out with all my might, *Down with the Scotchman! Down with the Scotchman!* In this way, I pretty soon despatched Lord Bute." In fact, the great power of a newspaper consists in the repetition of simple and familiar arguments. In England this power is immense, and is constantly increasing. It is the more formidable, in as much as the editors are generally dissatisfied with their position. There is in fact, no proportion between their standing in society, and the power they exercise. In the United States, their influence is still greater; and such is the terror they inspire, that many persons are deterred by it, from engaging in political life. Though warmly attached to liberty, they apprehend either on their own account, or that of their friends, the torrent of invective, that is poured upon all public characters by the journals of the opposite party.

'The French are perhaps better fitted by their peculiar intellectual character, than almost any other nation, for the publication of newspapers, a branch of literature, that requires the power of quick observation, lively repartee, and rapid, perspicuous narrative. It is also certain, although our legislation on this subject is extremely vicious, and although we have enjoyed the liberty of the press only for a few short periods, that much talent has been exhibited among us, in this form. I seldom open one of our journals, without being struck with the elegance of the style, and the correctness of the reasoning; and I have met with many Englishmen, who have also admitted their great merit,

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with apparent surprise that a Frenchman should be able to do so well.

'But our editors have nevertheless adopted an unfortunate plan in conducting their papers, and have introduced the division of labor where it is not only useless, but injurious. With us the political and literary news is separated from the advertisements and law reports. Now very few persons can afford to subscribe for several different journals, although they may be all more or less interesting to the public; and it thus happens that each class of readers remains in ignorance of all such matters as do not come within the range of his own immediate pursuits. The provincial manufacturer is not informed of the progress of the arts at Paris and elsewhere; while the Parisian capitalist is unacquainted with the economical situation of the provinces. The decisions of our six and twenty Royal Tribunals are unknown to all but the officers of court, although a more extensive publication of them might very probably produce much practical benefit. A British newspaper, on the other hand, is a sort of *microcosm*, and displays, in miniature, a view of the whole circle of interesting contemporary events. You find there every day the debates in Parliament, reports of the proceedings in all the courts, not only such as are likely to excite particular curiosity, but in all cases, civil and criminal. Speeches delivered at political meetings and assemblies for various purposes, religious, philanthropic, and commercial, at the sessions of the East India Company, and of the Common Council of London, and other important corporations;—all are published in the newspapers. Through this channel, the government makes known the conditions of its contracts, the candidate for Parliament solicits the votes of the electors, and thanks his friends for their exertions; rivals, of all sorts, publish their respective pretensions. The births, marriages, and deaths of persons of any note, their arrivals and departures, the entertainments they give; in short, the most trifling circumstances of their lives are all known and printed. The whole kingdom seems to resemble the glass house of the Roman philosopher.

'Literature is, however, almost entirely excluded from the British newspapers, and, in my opinion, not without good reasons. Within the small compass afforded by a daily paper, literary criticism must be, of necessity, superficial and frivolous. If the critic aim at gravity, and attempt to sound the depths of thought, he becomes pedantic and stiff, and seems to be out of place, like a learned professor at a convivial party. Facts, and a very few reflections upon them, are what the British public requires, with reason, of the journalists. It looks to more extensive publications, appearing at longer intervals, such as the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews, for instruction in science and philosophy.'

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There is much good sense in these observations, and we cordially assent to most of them. We rather doubt, however, the justice of the preference which M. de Staël gives to the English mode of conducting a newspaper, over the French. What is the model of a first-rate daily paper, is, we think, a question of high importance, and one which is not yet satisfactorily solved. Newspapers are, in fact, rather a late invention. They attracted but little attention, till within the last half-century, and it is hardly probable, that their form has already attained perfection. There is room to suppose, that experience will, in the course of years, suggest various improvements upon the now existing fashions. As at present advised, we incline to regard the French model as the best in use. We see not why the wholesome principle of the division of labor, should not have as good an effect in this department of industry, as it confessedly has in most others; nor do we understand very clearly the advantage that results from spreading out before the mass of readers, the endless columns of advertisements, which occupy more than half the space in a British newspaper, and three quarters in one of ours, and which the mass of readers most assuredly never think of looking at. If in each of our principal cities, as at Paris, a single journal were devoted exclusively to advertisements of all kinds, to the exclusion of other matter, and the usage of employing the political papers for this purpose, were abandoned, the expense of advertising would be greatly reduced, because it would then be only necessary to do it in one paper, instead of ten or twelve.

The present system leads to a great waste of capital; but a still more unfavorable effect resulting from it, is the excessive multiplication of newspapers, and the consequent degradation of the political and literary character of all. If the advertisements were published in a separate form, the political papers would depend wholly for success on the talent of their editors and writers. None could exist excepting such as were conducted by persons of respectable powers and good education, because no others would obtain readers. In this case, there would probably be in each of our chief cities, besides the advertising journal, at most two or three political ones, representing the views of different parties. These would all be well written, and enjoying the whole patronage which is now divided among a much greater number, would afford sufficient profits. At present, the quality of the literary and political matter is a

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point of secondary concern, as respects the profits of the establishment, which result almost wholly from the advertisements. The necessary consequence is, that it is comparatively neglected in almost all the journals, both here and in England. In France, on the contrary, where the other system prevails, the best and most brilliant pens in the capital are engaged in providing matter for the daily papers. We could mention a writer who has, within a few months, been received into the French Academy, solely on account of the merit of his literary articles published in the *Journal des Debats.* Constant, Chateaubriand, Bonald, Kératry, Etienne, Michaud, Devâux, and others, who are either editors of journals, or habitual contributors to them, are among the first names in contemporary literature. In England, there are few if any examples of newspapers edited by persons of eminent literary reputation; and the writing in most of them is of a very ordinary stamp. It is rumored that *The Times* has fallen into the hands of the poet Moore; and if this be true, we may expect some improvement in the style, which has hitherto been extremely coarse.

As respects literary execution, we may claim perhaps in this country some advantage over the British. Our eminent statesmen and good writers have always been more in the habit of communicating with the public in this way, than theirs. With the exception of the letters of Junius, we recollect no series of valuable political articles that have ever appeared in England in this form; while our newspapers have been constantly enriched with the treasures of the first minds in the country, from the time of *Novanglus* and *Massachusettensis* down to that of Fisher Ames, and so on to the present day. Our editorial corps has also generally contained, with a large mixture of alloy, a considerable portion of truly precious metal. It comprises at this moment some of our most distinguished literary characters, and could lately boast, in addition to its present list, the name of the accomplished and lamented Haven, who for several years conducted *The Portsmouth Journal* with the highest credit to himself, and to the signal advantage of the public.

We cannot agree with Baron de Staël, in thinking that literary matter is better excluded from the daily papers. When good (as it must be of course, to be useful or agreeable anywhere, and as it is habitually in the French Journals), we are

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of opinion that it is not only not out of place, but that its introduction has the happiest effect, both intellectual and moral. It conveys much valuable knowledge to many persons who are not accustomed to read books or formal reviews; and what is perhaps of still higher moment, it gives to the journals a tone of humanity, politeness, and civilization;—*Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros.* It tempers the ferocious party spirit which is apt to embitter their whole substance, and makes them channels of something else besides hard words and angry feelings. For these reasons, we have seen with much satisfaction some of the most accredited papers in the country, such as the New-York American and the National Gazette, habitually filling a part of their columns with interesting and instructive selections from foreign publications of a literary cast. We shall be still better pleased when the state of the press and of the public patronage shall enable our editors to enlist in their service the ablest writers of our own country, and to present us with the rich original fruits of native genius. It is generally believed that the polish, good humor, and fine feeling of *The Spectator* had much effect in subduing the virulence of party spirit in Great Britain; and we have little doubt that an ample infusion of well written literary matter into the daily papers, would exercise an equally auspicious influence in this country, where, no one will deny, the corrective is at least as much wanted.

The immense size of the British newspapers, and their superiority in this respect over those of the continent, are constant themes of exultation and triumph with their editors; and many an excellent joke is daily cracked by them upon the puny and diminutive constitution of their foreign rivals. In point of fact, however, if we look into the reason of this difference, it does not appear to be greatly to the advantage of the British, as it is owing wholly to the enormous stamp duty imposed upon them by the government. This makes it impossible to sustain a paper upon the strength of the subscription money, and has led of necessity to the admission of advertisements, to the expansion of the size of the sheet, in order to make room for them, and to the comparative neglect of the literary and political execution of the matter, which, as we have shown above, naturally results from these circumstances. Thus these very features in an English journal, which Baron de Staël so ingeniously justifies in theory, and of which the

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editors are so vain, are neither more nor less than badges of subjection to an unexampled and intolerable excess of taxation. With us, where there is no stamp duty, the same features are a mere imitation of the British usage, and this is one among many other singular cases (as for example, the general consumption of Portuguese and Spanish, instead of French wine), in which we continue voluntarily to wear the trammels of colonial dependence, while we are boasting so loudly of having shaken them entirely off. In order to effect the improvement we have suggested, it is only necessary for some enterprising editor in each of our great cities, who enjoys a good share of advertising patronage, (with the consent of his patrons, who would find a great economy in the change) to separate his establishment into two parts; one devoted exclusively to advertising, and the other to political and literary intelligence. Each, if judiciously conducted, must of course prosper. Of the other journals, the feebler would be soon discontinued; and the few that subsisted, would be compelled, in self-defence, to copy the new model, and would become exclusively political and literary. We freely offer the benefit of this plan (which would prove a mine of wealth, if skilfully reduced to practice) to any of our editorial friends, who may think proper to work upon it; and must now hasten to follow our author in his farthur speculations on the state of England.

The next topics to which he adverts, are the various *assemblies* that are held for *political purposes*, including the two Houses of Parliament. In common with these, he touches on the great question of *parliamentary reform*, and enters at some length into a developement of the respective opinions of the Whigs and Radicals concerning it. This inquiry closes the volume. Baron de Staël's observations on these subjects, which are generally very correct and judicious, are probably newer and more interesting to the French public than to us; since in most of the particulars he notices, our institutions and customs so nearly resemble those of England, that a description of the latter is merely a picture of what we see every day passing before our eyes. The most amusing passage is the account of a meeting held at Maidstone, in Kent, at which our author was present, and where the notorious Cobbett succeeded in defeating the Whigs upon their own ground. We recollect reading at the time, in the newspapers, a report of the proceedings, but have nevertheless been much entertained with the Baron's more succinct narrative, which is as follows.

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'The meeting to which I allude;' says our author, 'was held in the county of Kent, one of the most extensive, wealthy, and populous in England. The inhabitants, in the pride of certain ancient privileges belonging to them as such, generally call themselves *the men of Kent.* The place of meeting was the city of Maidstone, thirty-five miles from London. I set off to attend it early in the morning in company with several wealthy Whig landholders, with whom I have the honor of being acquainted. We passed through a most flourishing tract of country. On the road, my companions were uniformly treated with the respect which is regularly paid by all classes in England to such noblemen as are at all distinguished for merit and talent. As we approached Maidstone, we encountered large numbers of freeholders and farmers repairing to the meeting, mostly on horseback; for with all the supposed distress of the country, there was hardly a farmer who did not keep one or two horses for his personal use. We alighted at the tavern, where we found a number of the most considerable persons of the county already in consultation on the subject of the meeting. A draft of a petition had been made the evening before, which set forth the distresses of the agricultural class, and demanded a reduction of the taxes, and the adoption of measures for raising the price of grain, and withal a *reform of Parliament*, as the only remedy for the standing diseases of the state. The draft appeared well fitted to satisfy the most democratic taste. It was fully discussed, and after several amendments had been made, it was agreed that it should be submitted the next day to the consideration of the meeting, when it was anticipated that it would be unanimously adopted.

'At the hour appointed, we repaired to the market-place. As it was a market-day, several thousands of persons were assembled, and the windows of the neighboring houses were all occupied. The tumult occasioned by the crowd, was mingled with the lowing of oxen, the bleating of sheep, and the confused movements of buyers and sellers. The people were pressing impatiently around several carts, which were to serve as stages for the speakers; and on one of which, two pine boards were placed crosswise to support the sheriff's arm-chair. Some of the spectators mounted upon the wheels, others ascended a ladder and remained upon it in a most uneasy position for the purpose of hearing a little better; so intense is the taste for political discussion that pervades even the lowest classes of the British nation. I remarked, however, that with one exception, the carts remained empty, no one even of those most eager to enjoy the pleasures of the day, thought of taking possession of them, although there was no authority, military or civil, to guard them. "For whom then are these places reserved?" said I to a person at my side. "For the *gentlemen*,"

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replied he. Now who were these *gentlemen?* Persons who had a right to these reserved places by any special privilege,—who had any visible badge about them to attest their pretensions? Far from it. The public sentiment was the only criterion; and yet in the midst of this scene of confusion, there was a full understanding that the best places belonged to the Peers of the Realm, the Members of Parliament, the Justices of Peace, and other persons who were able, from their education and situation in life, to speak upon the business of the day, and who were collectively and concisely designated as the *gentlemen.* Scarcely had the *gentlemen* taken their places, and the sheriff opened the meeting, when the mob invaded the carts, and crowded upon and into them in such numbers, that the speakers had hardly room to move their arms.

'The sheriff stated the object of the meeting, and a member of Parliament representing the Whig interest of the county, then made a speech in which he enlarged upon the matter of the petition, and exposed in detail, the misconduct of the ministry, and the augmentation of the taxes occasioned by ruinous and impolitic wars. He was often interrupted by thunders of applause, from ten thousand hearers. The meeting appeared to be unanimous; but Sir Edward Knatchbull, the ministerial member for the county, though nearly alone of his opinion, thought it necessary to make some reply to the speech of his colleague. Accordingly, after a number of complimentary phrases, of which the English are as prodigal at this kind of meetings, as they are sparing in their courts of justice and in Parliament, he boldly undertook the defence of the ministers, who, here at least, were in a small minority. His speech was listened to without applause, but still with respect and attention; and the people, as they said, were rather pleased to hear him express himself in a frank and *manly* way, an epithet which to an English ear, is strongly indicative of esteem and approbation.

'The petition met with no opposition, and the sheriff was about to take the question, when a voice was heard from the most crowded of the carts, proposing an amendment. All eyes were now turned on this side, where a stout, gray-headed old man, with a bold, determined look, was urging himself forward from amongst his friends, and preparing to speak. This person was the notorious Cobbett. He was received with a general murmur of disapprobation. *Down with Cobbett! No Jacobins here!* was a pretty universal cry. One of the opposition lords proposed, nevertheless, that he should be allowed a hearing. "Is Cobbett a freeholder of the county?" was then inquired on all sides; "I am," replied he, in a firm tone. "In that case," said the sheriff, "you have a right to be heard, and it is my duty to keep order while you are

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speaking." Cobbett then commenced his harangue, as nearly as I recollect, in the following manner;

"I see that you do not wish to hear me, and I shall therefore be brief; but I shall speak so plainly that every laboring man in this meeting will understand what I say, and, I hope, repeat it to his children. You are all crying out for *reform of Parliament*, as the only possible remedy for our political diseases. Now, who first proposed this remedy? Why, the Radicals, who for more than twenty years past, have been working day and night to recover the rights of which they have been robbed by a haughty aristocracy. What rewards have we had for it? Why, we have been insulted, imprisoned, some of us trampled under foot at Manchester; others compelled to quit the country. I was obliged to cross the ocean myself, and take refuge on Long Island, in the State of New York, to avoid a prosecution from Daddy Burdett. I have now come back, and what do I see? Why I see all the noblemen and gentlemen of this county, assembled here to promote this very *reform of Parliament*, which they drove me out of the kingdom for proposing. Most of them I know are Whigs, and I am willing to admit that their predecessors did some service at the time of the revolution of 1688, and that they are not quite so bad themselves as the Tories and the fund-holders; but (God knows) they are bad enough. They now declaim against corruption. Why then do they continue themselves to fatten on sinecures and pensions? Why are they preaching up a reform in Parliament, while they insist upon keeping their own rotten boroughs, under pretext that it would not answer to give them up unless the Tories will consent to do the same? This shameful traffic cannot last much longer, and I now forewarn you, gentlemen, that you must either resign your boroughs, or lose your estates," etc.

'While he was delivering this exordium, standards were carried about among the crowd, with hand-bills pasted on them, on which Cobbett's writings were advertised in large capitals. A low murmur of approbation now ran through the audience, and the speaker, perceiving that he had made an impression, artfully took advantage of it to recapitulate in a hasty manner, the various abuses of the administration in church and state. After this, assuming a more moderate tone, he proposed a reduction of the national debt, on the ground that it was but just that the public creditors should suffer a diminution of their own incomes, proportional to that which was sustained by all other classes in consequence of the fall in the price of grain, and the resumption of cash payments by the banks. Cobbett was followed by another of the Radical orators, who seconded the amendment in language somewhat nervous, though coarse and incorrect. Although the

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measure proposed amounted to a national bankruptcy, the amendment was nevertheless carried by a large majority. The meeting was then dissolved, and the more respectable Whigs returned to their homes, not a little chagrined at having been defeated by a person of Cobbett's reputation and character.'

We look upon Cobbett as one of the remarkable men of the present time, and as affording a singular example of the extent of notoriety to which an individual may attain in England, under all possible disadvantages of birth and education, by the mere effect of talent and industry; and as showing on the other hand how completely the fruits of these valuable qualities may be lost, for want of a small infusion of *common honesty*. This we take to be the real defect in the character of Cobbett. As a prose writer, he has few superiors in the language. Though familiar and popular, he is generally pure and correct, and at times elegant; flowing and easy, but nevertheless nervous, pointed, and significant, and above all, thoroughly English. The great literary merit of his writings, and the facility with which he produces them, together with his indefatigable activity, would have made him an invaluable coadjutor to any party with which he might have chosen to connect himself; and would have carried him to the loftiest heights of social consideration. In defect of principle, a tolerable share of prudence and regard for consistency would have answered nearly the same purpose. It is now somewhere about thirty years since, under the name of *Peter Porcupine*, he first kindled his *Rush-light* in the benighted regions (as he then thought them) of Philadelphia. *Down with the Jacobins!* (the cry that is now raised against him) was then his own watchword; as it was about the same time that of Mr Canning, who was then just commencing his career in the same way, by the publication of a weekly paper, entitled *The Anti-Jacobin*. Canning's real talent was, perhaps, inferior to that of Cobbett; his activity and industry probably less,—they certainly could not be greater; his moral sensibility not keener than that of other persons; and his political consistency by no means proverbial; but possessing, nevertheless, a competent share of these useful qualities, he rose rapidly to the first places in the government, and finally to the highest of all, while poor Cobbett, after a long life of unremitted and exemplary labor, after publishing hundreds of volumes of the best and most popular composition in the language, finds himself at sixty years of age, precisely where he set out,

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the editor of a weekly paper, without a friend and without a penny.

Examples of this kind serve, as the poet Claudian says of the fall of some overgrown villain of his time, 'to acquit the gods,' and show that moral distinctions are of more practical value than some are willing to admit. After starting as the advocate of social order, against revolution and Jacobinism, and at various times, in the subsequent course of his life, defending correct principles with great power and effect (as in his letters to Lord Castlereagh, upon the grounds of our late war with Great Britain), Cobbett has been gradually sinking, step by step, in self-respect and public consideration; and has been reduced, for some years past, to play the part of a sort of political buffoon, dealing out his paltry wit (now on the lees) at all parties and persons in succession, despised and laughed at by all, from Daddy Coke and Daddy Burdett (to use his own phraseology), down to his ancient yoke-fellow, but now sworn enemy, Hunt; but still writing on, *scribble, scribble, scribble*, as the Duke of Cumberland said to Gibbon, as busily and sometimes with as much power and freshness as ever, and constantly declaring himself, without reserve, *the cleverest man in England.*

The most amusing part of Cobbett's career, is his late attack upon the Protestant reformation. Our readers are probably aware, that he has published a series of letters on this subject, which make, when collected, two or three octavo volumes. These have succeeded wonderfully with all the good Catholics throughout Europe. O'Connell, the famous Irish orator, upon the strength of them, pronounced Cobbett to be a *fine animal.* The fanatical party in France have had the work translated, and extensively circulated in that country; and even the Spanish press has relaxed from its habitual sterility, in favor of this precious production. Nay, the Holy Father himself has condescended to patronize so pious an undertaking, and has paid (unless the newapapers are grossly mistaken) for fifty thousand copies out of his own pocket. Cobbett, patronized by the Pope, is a pleasant caricature. But we must take our leave of Cobbett, and proceed with our author.

Baron de Staël enters into a somewhat detailed examination of the sentiments of the two parties denominated Whigs and Radicals on the question of *parliamentary reform.* We have not

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room to follow him in this, and the subject, though always important in theory, has for some years past been but little agitated in England, and has lost a great part of its immediate interest. The well known Jeremy Bentham is referred to by our author as his principal authority in regard to the Radical opinion. We believe that this philosopher is in fact acknowledged as the leader of the sect, and as entitled to the honor, whatever it may be, of having supplied them with something like a theory. As respects the character and pretensions of this person, we have thought, that with a good deal of natural talent and acquired information, he has the misfortune to labor under a partial aberration of intellect, which has grown upon him as he advanced in life. His first publications, though not of much importance, were judicious and well written. He afterwards engaged in inquiries of greater extent and interest, but as he went on prosecuting them, his understanding seems to have become confused, perhaps from too intense and exclusive application to study. He found himself incapable of bringing out his own ideas in an intelligible form, and committed his manuscripts to a clear-headed Genevan, named Dumont, who arranged and published them in French, and to whom we probably owe most of what there is valuable about them.

It seems at least but natural and fair to draw this conclusion, since the numerous works which Bentham has since published are entirely of a different stamp as respects both tone and substance. They are written in a strange and incomprehensible jargon. The matter of his later writings is also nearly or quite as extravagant as the manner; and his conduct is of a piece with both. Our readers doubtless recollect the pleasant account given by Captain Parry, in his work on the life of Lord Byron, of a visit which he made to Bentham at his residence in London, and of the would-be Solon's race through Fleet Street and Cornhill, which he ended, if we remember rightly, at Moorfields, from an instinctive consciousness, perhaps, that he should be more at home there than anywhere else. This little circumstance, like straws that show which way the wind blows, decided our opinion on the condition of his understanding, and explained at once how a person, who in the maturity and vigor of life was avowedly incapable of expressing his own thoughts in his native language, should feel himself called upon in his old age to reform the legislation of the whole civilized

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world from China to Peru, and should actually enter into correspondence with most of the sovereigns and other rulers of the day upon the subject. With these impressions respecting his character, we should of course deem it unnecessary to examine in detail his political system, had we even the necessary space at our disposal.

We may remark, however, that it exhibits in many parts evident symptoms of a complete incoherence of ideas in the author. Thus our legislator thinks it necessary that in a perfectly free government, where all the magistrates are elective, measures should be taken for enabling each citizen to conceal his opinion on the public affairs, lest forsooth he should be called to account by—we are not informed whom. For the better effecting of this object, our modern Numa enters into a large dissertation upon the proper shape and constitution of a balloting box, and directs that the citizen, when he comes to the polls, shall be required to take an oath that he will regard every attempt to discover for which candidate he means to vote, as an act of oppression, and will not feel himself bound to give a true answer. How poor to this the wisdom of the Lockes, the Montesquieus, and the Madisons, whom Bentham thinks it his vocation to supersede. Baron de Staël pronounces these regulations to be *de grandes pauvretés*, or *much ado about nothing*. We should rather class them with what the Spaniards call *disparates* or *sheer nonsense*—the natural fruit of an unsound intellect. What do we mean by the freedom of speech and the press, if the citizen's lips are to be hermetically sealed, and his way of thinking an impenetrable mystery? Is it not the precise object of a free government, to give him the opportunity, as Tacitus has it, of thinking what he pleases, and saying what he thinks,—*sentire quæ velis, et quæ sentias dicere?* What would be the surprise of our people, who have now for two years past been publicly discussing, from one end of the Union to the other, the question for whom they shall vote as President two years hence, if they were told that it was essential to liberty that every man's opinion should be kept a profound secret! It is evident that Bentham's notions are not merely trifling and unstatesmanlike, but actually incoherent, and in gross violation of the laws of plain common sense.

The chief error of the partisans of parliamentary reform in England, both moderate and violent, many of whom were of course much wiser men than Jeremy Bentham, lay in at-

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taching too much importance to mere external forms, and attending too little to the influence of the condition of the people upon the spirit and operations of the government. In consequence of this inattention, it so happened that many of the most intelligent and sagacious persons in Great Britain, kept up a constant alarm during the last half-century, respecting the increasing influence of the crown, when in fact the character of the government, by means of the constantly progressive diffusion of knowledge and wealth among the middling and lower classes, was growing from day to day more and more popular. We think we hazard nothing in asserting, that from the time of Mr Dunning's celebrated resolution, that 'the influence of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished,' up to the late introduction of the Whigs into the administration, the political weight of the aristocracy, including the crown, has been regularly decreasing, and that of the mass of the people increasing in the same proportion, or, in other words, that the circle of citizens who take an active share in the public affairs, has been constantly enlarging.

The Whigs were the virtual representatives of the popular interest, and though, as a party, regularly voted down in Parliament, their moral power was always advancing, until at length the ministry, without a formal change of persons, adopted their views, and established a system of policy, foreign and domestic, conformable to them, and opposite to those which were entertained by the pure aristocracy of England, in common with that of the Continent. Finally, upon the occurrence of the opening lately afforded by the retirement of Lord Liverpool, the last result of this change has been seen in the personal introduction of the Whigs into office, at a time when their party, as such, seemed to be extinct, and had almost ceased from any active opposition to the measures of government. The situation of the Whigs was similar to that of a ship beating up against a head wind, and apparently making but little way, or perhaps losing ground, but which is nevertheless carried on unconsciously by a favorable current, and finally reaches the port without well knowing how she got there.

Mr Canning, whose elevation and sudden death lately created so strong a sensation throughout the christian world, was the person marked out by circumstances to act as a sort of mediator between the two interests, and to smooth the passage from one system of policy to another. Accidental causes

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had attached him in his youth to the aristocratic party, and to the person of Pitt, its great representative and champion. On the other hand, his commanding talents and lofty spirit, while they naturally led him to sympathize with all truly liberal notions, and enabled him to estimate correctly the value of new ideas, also qualified him, when occasion required, to deviate from the routine of preceding practice, and strike out an independent course for himself. The same traits of character which fitted him so well for a leader, probably rendered him in some degree less useful and agreeable as a mere coadjutor in the cabinet; and from his first entrance into public life, until the death of Lord Londonderry, he seems to have played, upon the whole, a subaltern and rather uncomfortable part. That event at once fixed him in his proper sphere, and had a powerful influence in giving, with the necessary promptitude, the new direction to the affairs of the country, which was absolutely essential to its future prosperity.

A more correct and liberal economical system had already been adopted by the cabinet; but the decisive measure required by the crisis was the immediate recognition of Spanish America. Had England hesitated upon this question, the Allies would have probably taken part with Spain. America might perhaps have been recovered by that power, and Great Britain would then have sunk very rapidly into a feeble appendage to the military powers of the continent. The moment was therefore in the highest degree critical. Of the two courses that lay before the government, one was recommended by routine, and aristocratic prejudice; the other, as we have said, was imperiously counselled by good policy and liberal feeling. The latter had been previously proposed and chiefly supported by the Whigs, and had the ministry consisted of statesmen of the ordinary stamp, like Lord Londonderry, men much under the influence of mere routine and existing connexions, the decisive blow would hardly have been struck. By an almost miraculous combination of events, it so happened that at this precise juncture, Lord Londonderry, in the vigor of life, and with the prospect of a long career before him, was suddenly called from the helm, and that Mr Canning, whom the delay of a few weeks longer would have removed for ever from the scene of action, was summoned to replace him.

His connexions with the aristocratic party gave him the necessary weight and favor with the crown, and his powerful

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character, which placed him above routine and prejudice, enabled him to see the true policy of the country, although it came before him in the questionable shape of a Whig doctrine, and to act upon it with the requisite decision. There is an air of *fanfaronade* in the proud declaration made by this statesman in his famous speech on Portuguese affairs,—*that he had called a new nation into existence*; but we nevertheless regard it as in substance well founded in reference to Spanish America. That the policy adopted by England was the immediate cause that prevented, in fact, the interference of the continental powers, is generally admitted. Our proceedings had great weight in determining the course of England, and produced in this way a most powerful effect upon the general result; but without the concurrence of England, our influence alone might not have averted the danger. We mean not to say, that had the Allies actually interfered, the independence of Spanish America would have certainly been lost, but that it would doubtless have been jeoparded and necessarily contested for an indefinite period, during which our western continent would have been visited by a train of incalculable miseries, some part of which—we need not here inquire how large a one—would have fallen to our share. The coöperation of England and the United States was indispensable in order to give to this great movement in political affairs, the fortunate direction which it actually took. Each of these powers may therefore felicitate itself with justice upon having had the opportunity of rendering the most important services, at the critical moment of their national birth, to the rising republics of the South. This, we suppose, making due allowance for rhetorical exaggeration, and the warmth of extempore speaking, is the only meaning which we need to deduce from the aforesaid remark.

Our sister republics have not been backward in acknowledging their obligations to either power. 'It is agreeable,' says President Rivadavia (the most distinguished statesman whom this great struggle has yet brought into notice, and one who may well be compared with the soundest thinkers and most judicious practical politicians of any age or nation,) in his address to the Congress of Buenos Aires, in May, 1822, upon retiring from his place, as governor of that province; 'it is agreeable to witness the frank and noble policy of His Majesty the king of Great Britain. The similarity of opinion

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and feeling, which we observe in the cabinets of London and Washington, will show to Spain that she cannot hope to contend single-handed with the free nations of the new world, and will perhaps introduce into her councils the moderation and wisdom, so necessary to her existence.' Nor are the statesmen of the South in any way jealous of the influence which it naturally belongs to our country to exercise upon the political system of the continent; 'This illustrious nation,' says another citizen of the same republic, writing in the year 1825, and alluding to the United States, 'this illustrious nation is naturally called upon to direct and lead on the march of all the free States of America.' The unity of political system in regard to these all-important subjects, which appears in the councils of the two great English nations on the two sides of the Atlantic, is a circumstance of happy omen, not merely for the Southern republics, but for their own mutual intercourse, which, we venture to hope, will not wear for ever the unnatural and repulsive form of fraternal hostility.

The recognition of Spanish America by the British government was, however, a decidedly Whig measure, both in form and principle. It marked at once the separation of the government from the despotic alliance of the continent of Europe, and its adhesion to the liberal system, which rules without dispute throughout that of America. The policy of England being thus entirely changed, it was not unnatural that a corresponding change should occur within no very distant period in the persons of the ministry. It was quite proper that the leading Whigs, who for twenty years before had been proposing the same measures which had now been adopted by the government, should share in the honor and satisfaction of carrying them into effect; and that the prime minister should avail himself of the first favorable occasion to introduce some of the most distinguished and unexceptionable individuals among them into the cabinet. Objections however would naturally occur to such a proceeding, and here again the powerful character of Mr Canning was one of the circumstances which were perhaps indispensable, and were certainly very efficacious in bringing about the desired result. We all know from recent experience in our own country, how tenaciously the personal sympathies and antipathies occasioned by party divisions are cherished long after the causes that created the parties have ceased to exist. Such men as Lord Chancellor

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Eldon and the Duke of Wellington, who, although they had concurred in adopting the liberal measures recommended by Mr Canning, refused to serve under him for no better reason, apparently, than that he was the man who had proposed those measures, would have doubtless objected still more strongly to any association with professed Whigs. Few ministers could have ventured to take a stand in opposition to the weight of their names, and to the vast influence which they were supposed to possess in the nation; and nothing but the immense personal popularity which Mr Canning was conscious of enjoying, would have justified him in the attempt, or have rendered it successful.

With a manly confidence in the correctness of his principles, and the extent of his powers, which belongs only to an intellectual and moral character of the highest order, he resolutely took his ground, and maintained every inch of it, to the utter astonishment and consternation of his adversaries, and to the signal satisfaction of the friends of liberty throughout the world. The final result was a complete recomposition of the ministry on the most liberal principles, and with a large mixture of professedly Whig elements. So complete and well-founded was the new political edifice from the moment of its construction, that the death of its great architect, within a few weeks after, does not appear to have affected in any way its stability or probable duration. We look upon the new administration, although still under the direction of a nominal Tory, as in principle decidedly Whig, and we anticipate that such will be the coloring of the policy of England, under all changes in the persons of the ministers, for a long period to come. We incline to this opinion, because we consider a liberal policy as more congenial to the principles of the British constitution, as well as more suitable to the existing circumstances of the country, than the one which was pursued for thirty or forty years preceding, and has now been abandoned. The basis of the British constitution is in the main liberal, and the policy of the government had been generally such from the accession of the House of Brunswick (which was determined by the prevalence of the Whig party) up to the opening of our Revolution. From that period down to the close of the French Revolutionary war, the measures pursued, though suggested no doubt by accidental causes, rather than an absolute love of oppression and despotism,—though natural perhaps, and, at times, in some

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degree justifiable,—were nevertheless throughout inimical to freedom. The circumstances that led to this deviation having changed, the British government has placed itself again upon its natural foundation; and this, precisely because it is the natural one, we think is likely to be permanent.

Having thus changed the direction of the policy of his country, and restored the principle of liberty to its natural ascendency in the cabinet, Mr Canning seems to have accomplished the object of his mission, and we deem it not unfortunate for his fame, and for the good of the world, that he has been withdrawn so early from the scene of action. When the course is given and the sails justly trimmed, a common head is able to steer the ship; and it sometimes happens that the high qualities which are so useful and necessary in extraordinary contingences, may be positively dangerous in transacting the common routine of business. 'There are some persons,' says the author of the Henriade, 'who shine in a secondary sphere, but lose their lustre when they rise to the highest.'

'Tel brille au second rang, qui s'éclipse au prémier.'

There are others, on the contrary,—and Mr Canning was probably of the number,—whose talents are fitted for great occasions, but who make less display in the conduct of the simple affairs of ordinary life. The ardent imagination and the bold, creative genius which enabled their possessor to invent new systems, and to grapple with questions of a grand and complicated nature, have no natural bearing upon matters of inferior interest. When a statesman, possessed of these transcendent qualities, flies at smaller game, he is apt to run into exaggeration, if not into error. Mr Canning's course on the Portuguese affairs was perhaps an example of both these results. His policy in regard to this subject was from the outset extremely questionable; and the mode, in which he treated it in the House of Commons, was highly injudicious, and justly gave umbrage to the principal powers of the continent. Had he lived, this question might perhaps have endangered the tranquillity of Europe, and consequently of the whole christian world; but under the more temperate and business-like management of his successors, it will probably be brought with ease to a quiet termination.

In like manner, the difference about the colonial trade between this country and the British West Indies, by the effect

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of his flippant mode of writing and misapplied promptness and energy of action, was ripening pretty fast into a serious quarrel. This dispute too, we trust, will be speedily adjusted by the plain good sense and good temper, and, we hope we may add, liberal and amicable feeling of the present ministry. We repeat, therefore, that while we regret the premature death of Mr Canning, on account of the breach it necessarily makes in the social circle of his friends and connexions, while we experience a sentiment of gloom at the extinction of one of the most brilliant lights of the political sphere, we are satisfied that, as respects his own glory and the interest of the christian commonwealth, he had lived long enough, and that he now 'sleeps well.' He died, as it were, in the arms of victory, on the loftiest summit of social elevation that an Englishman can innocently reach. He had been made of late the instrument of great and lasting good to his country and mankind; and had shown, throughout his career, the highest qualities, intellectual and moral. His faults will be acknowledged by the candid, to be of those that accompany an ardent and generous character, and his name will be recorded, in spite of them, among the most illustrious in modern history.

We have been led imperceptibly into this digression upon the recent changes in the British Ministry, by the reflections which naturally result from the topics last treated of by M. de Staël. Having already exceeded our limits, we must now conclude by recommending his work to our readers, as a judicious, well-written, and dispassionate examination of some of the most important political questions of the day. If their sentiments are at all similar to ours, the name of the author will secure to his production a high degree of attention; and we conceive that we are bestowing sufficient commendation upon it, when we add, that those who peruse it with the expectations which that distinguished name may justly excite, will not be disappointed.

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ART. IX. *The American Annual Register; for the Year 1825–6, or the Fiftieth Year of American Independence.* New York, G. & C. Carvill. 8vo. 1827.

WE looked forward to the appearance of this volume with interest, and are satisfied with its execution. It comes as near to the plan proposed of *An Annual Register*, as could be expected, under all the difficulties incident to a first essay. Some portions of it, indeed, appear to have been executed in haste; and several parts would bear an increased expansion and detail. The portion dedicated to the separate states, is somewhat meagre. It should be wholly omitted, or more elaborately wrought up. With adequate pains bestowed on this department, we are quite sure that it might be made equal in interest and value, to any portion of an American Annual Register. More than any other part, it would carry the recommendation of novelty, to most readers in this country. Almost every reader of newspapers, gather a general idea of national affairs; and some indistinct notion, at least, of what is going on in Europe. But let our readers search their memories at the end of the year, and see how good an account they can give of the events, which have taken place in each of the twenty-four states of this confederacy.

Let it not be said, that we know little of what is passing in our sister states, because there is little of importance to be known. Far from it. There is not a state in the union, whose internal administration is not a rich study for the American citizen, politician, and statesman; while many of the states stand before us in the aspect of republics growing up into a consequence, which must ultimately compare with that even of the Union. For this, and other reasons, we sincerely hope, that great diligence will be bestowed on that department of 'The American Register,' which is devoted to the affairs of the separate states. It will, in some respects, be the most difficult of execution. The requisite materials and means of information are not concentrated, as they are in reference to the general government, and the political affairs of the Union. But after they shall have been duly collected and condensed, we feel persuaded they will be found, in the judgment of all intelligent readers, to add highly to the value of 'The Register.' It is not to be inferred from these remarks, that the present volume con-

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tains nothing in this way. A beginning is made, as ample, perhaps, as ought to have been expected, of a selection of notices, pertaining to the separate states; but this department will bear and reward all the diligence, with which it can be cultivated.

The strictly historical portion of the work falls, of course, into the two great divisions of domestic and foreign; and the former is necessarily chiefly devoted to the doings of the first session of the last congress. This part of the work (in some respects the most delicate, as it immediately involves questions of party politics), has been as satisfactorily executed, in reference to such questions, as the nature of things admits. The leaning towards the administration is obvious; but the arguments, adduced by those opposed to the measures of the administration, are, we think, fairly dealt by.

The course to be pursued, in a work making pretensions to historical dignity, in reference to questions of party politics, is not altogether easy to be settled. The frantic partiality of the violent newspapers, is, of course, to be avoided, not as being beneath the gravity of history, but as unworthy the order of beings, whom Providence has endowed with reason and speech. On the other hand, the nature and operation of what is called *impartiality*, in the historian of polical occurrences, especially contemporaneous occurrences, require to be well understood, before it is too urgently recommended. A real, honest impartiality, which, without a shade of human weakness, in the form of favor or of enmity, should pronounce on men and things according to their true merit, would, no doubt, be a glorious quality in a historian. But such an impartiality is plainly not given to frail man, certainly not in reference to the political events, which are passing around us, and the prominent political characters of the day. He must have his *feelings*, in respect to these events and characters; and these feelings will bias his judgment.

There is indeed, a state of mind, which may sometimes exist in reference to contemporary political events, that of a cold indifference, or a strong aversion to both of two prominent parties, which would seem to promise something like impartiality, in forming and expressing judgments upon them. But even this promise is delusive. For, not to urge the rarity of the thing itself (it being next to impossible, that a precise equipoise even in indifference or aversion should exist), the result will be, that alternate injustice will be done to both parties. The

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credit, which may occasionally be awarded to both, will be coldly measured out; and the censure, to which each in turn will perhaps be obnoxious, will not be emphatically expressed, from a fear of disturbing the stoical balance of assumed impartiality. If the feeling cherished toward the two parties be that of equal and decided hostility, manifold injustice will be done to one, or the other, or both. It is next to impossible, that both parties should be alike worthy of hatred; consequently, to hate them alike is itself an injury to the least odious. Besides this, a strong passion of hostility wholly unfits the mind to discourse on the acts of others. Take, for instance, the writings of Burke on the French revolution. He was certainly very impartial between the Girondists and the Jacobins; but the fervor of his feelings unfitted him to write the history of either, and especially to do any justice to the points, on which they were divided. It did fit him out with an apostolic mission, to rouse the fear and hatred of the world against both; but this is a very different vocation from that of the historian.

To illustrate more clearly our meaning, on the subject of impartiality in a writer on contemporary politics, we will instance the 'Life of Napoleon,' by Sir Walter Scott. Apart from literary execution, the main fault of this book is its claim to be impartial. We do not mean to set this down as a hypocritical and affected impartiality. We believe the eminent author designed to be impartial, and occasionally put himself under constraint to attain that end. It being, however, in the nature of things physically impossible for an Englishman, of the government side in politics, a person for twenty or thirty years employed in writing in reviews, magazines, registers, and newspapers, and separate works on the British and the government side of the question, to be *really* impartial; that is, to have no prepossession in favor of his own country, and no prejudice against its most dangerous enemy; the assumed character of impartiality can have no other result, than, that while it perhaps leads him to discredit some of the grosser and more atrocious calumnies, it will give additional weight to his unfavorable view of the entire character and policy of his hero. Take an example from what he says of Lafayette. We presume that Sir Walter Scott, considering that this country contains about one half of those, by whom his book was to be read, felt a strong desire to be impartial toward the man, who had lately passed, in wonderful triumph, throughout the American Continent. He does not, ac-

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cordingly, speak of him in the terms, with which he was usually mentioned, and is still, when mentioned at all, by the political disciples of Mr Pitt,—terms of the bitterest hatred. He even speaks of him in something like the language of praise; but this serves only to give additional force to the sarcastic gentleness, with which he condemns his conduct at the most critical moment. We refer to the dreadful scene of the removal from Versailles. Lafayette, we are told, advanced at the head of 'his civic army, *slowly, but in good order*. The presence of this great force seemed to restore a portion of tranquillity, though no one seemed to know, with certainty, how it was likely to act. Lafayette had an audience of the king, explained the means he had adopted for the security of the palace, recommended to the inhabitants to go to rest, and unhappily set the example by retiring himself. Before doing so, however, he also visited the assembly, pledged himself for the safety of the royal family, and the tranquillity of the night, and, with some difficulty, prevailed on the president Mounier to adjourn the sitting which had been voted permanent. He thus took upon himself the responsibility for the quiet of the night. We are loath to bring into question the worth, honor, and fidelity of Lafayette; and we can therefore only lament, that weariness should have so far overcome him, at an important crisis, and that he should have trusted to others the execution of those precautions, which were most grossly neglected.' Now we shall make but one remark on this, which is followed up by more in the same strain. We give Sir Walter Scott credit, for 'being loath to bring into question the worth, honor, and fidelity of Lafayette.' He nevertheless does it; and this being the case, we, as friends to Lafayette, should like to have it done heartily; with all the warmth, which a failure at this 'important crisis' demands. If duty dictates, we would have the historian adopt the language of Sièyes, which was at least manly, in declaring for the death of Louis (an expression which has escaped Sir Walter in narrating the scene), and vote 'la mort—*sans phrase*.'

This digression, we hope, will not be thought unseasonable, in connexion with our notice of a historical survey of the political events of our own country and our own day. We have already stated, that, in narrating the domestic political history of the year, we think the editor of 'The Annual Register' has practised about the only impartiality, which is valuable, that of fairly

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stating the arguments of those opposed to the measures, which he himself approves. In expressing this opinion, we do not, of course, in any degree, intend to offer ourselves as vouchers for the correctness of the single opinions or sentiments which he avows. In the literary execution of this part of 'The Register,' we are inclined to recommend less ample quotations from the speeches, made while measures are under discussion in Congress, and indeed from documents of any kind. Such documents as it may be proper to present entire, might advantageously be given in a smaller type in the Appendix. With respect to the debates, as an ample provision is now made for their entire publication, in a work exclusively dedicated to their preservation, their omission in the historical Register would be attended with no sacrifice to its readers, and would afford space for an ampler detail of matters of fact.

The execution of the portion of 'The Register,' which relates to foreign history, was not accompanied with the difficulty, growing out of the treatment of party questions, to which the domestic history was exposed. The pages devoted to the different foreign countries of America, and the old world, though varying in fulness of detail, are highly instructive. We apprehend there is no reader, however assiduous in reading or preserving his newspapers, who could go through these pages, without finding his recollections corrected, brought into order, and filled up. Of several of the countries, our newspapers give us but little intelligence. Of none of them do they give us a regular chain of intelligence. The nature of a newspaper would render this almost impossible, with the greatest diligence and care. Its columns must, in general, be engrossed with the news of the day. At subsequent and stated periods, to write the successive articles of intelligence; to sift out the truth; to furnish the requisite documentary information; and to throw the whole into a historical chapter, though obviously a work, to which the intelligent editor of a newspaper would come well prepared, is also a work of more labor and time, than he can reasonably be expected to bestow; and it is precisely the province of the writer of an Annual Register. We deem it no more than strict justice to say, that this department of 'The Annual Register' is much better filled, than the corresponding part of any English register, with which we are acquainted.

But we do not wish our readers to take our opinion of the

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work on trust; and we shall therefore lay before them a more detailed account of the matter contained in it, and the mode in which it is treated.

The period at which its historical portion commences, is the fiftieth year of the Independence of the country; the beginning of the administration of the present chief magistrate, in some respects, starting under new auspices; and the opening of a new congress. These tangible points of departure at home, are met with sufficiently corresponding events of peculiarity, in the aspect of foreign affairs, to constitute altogether a marked epoch. It may be considered politically, as bringing to a full close, the revolutionary age at home, and the reign of the colonial system abroad. In the first and introductory chapter, the views apposite to this state of things are expressed, with no little originality and force. The successive events by which the change in foreign politics was brought about, particularly the severance of the different parts of Spanish and Portuguese America from political dependence on Europe; the councils of the continental alliance, in reference to these events; the policy of Great Britain and the United States, in regard to the intercourse of the remaining colonies of the former, are sketched with vigor. The last of these topics, the colonial dispute between the United States and Great Britain, has since grown up into a great question of controversy, which will undoubtedly receive an ample developement in the next volume of 'The Register.' We cannot but observe on the kind of fatality, which leads the citizens of the United States to make the controversies of the confederacy with foreign powers, a matter of domestic party politics. That this was done (and to the lasting reproach of our politics) in the controversies growing out of the French revolution, was ascribed to the infancy and consequent weakness of our own government, the newness of our institutions, and the want of a national feeling, sufficiently strong and peculiar to master all minor impulses. It was to be hoped, as it was unanimously and heartily predicted would be the case, that our foreign relations would never again be reproachfully made the topics of domestic division. After recapitulating the principles of the colonial policy of Great Britain, as far as they were then unfolded, the introductory chapter presents us with the visit of Lafayette, as a happy incident at the close of the revolutionary age, singular, even unparalleled, in its nature, and genial in its influence.

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The political history of the year is related in the following chapters, from the second to the fifth inclusive. The first treats of the inauguration of the present chief magistrate, whose speech is given entire. The business transacted at the ensuing session of the senate, is then related; an account given of the formation of the opposition to the national administration; the rise and progress of the controversy relative to the Creek lands narrated, and a general survey taken of the position of Indian affairs. These topics, with the trials of Commodores Stuart and Porter, the measures of internal improvement pursued during the recess of congress, the progress of manufactures, and the extraordinary agitations of the commercial world, in the course of the summer, fill up the first chapter.

The next chapter introduces us to the proceedings of the nineteenth congress, and relates the proposal and discussion of the amendments of the constitution, brought forward in the two houses; of which, as is well known, the principal features were a division of the United States into as many districts, as the number of electors to be chosen, and the removal of the eventual decision of the election, from the House of Representatives. Could the former question have been presented alone, and discussed without any association with the state of parties, we are not sure that it would not have prevailed. A small majority of the House of Representatives voted against the resolution which related to this point. The objections to it were, either, in general, to all changes in the constitution, or grounded on the opinion that many of the alleged evils incident to the present system, would continue to flow from that proposed as a substitute. It is true, however, that a part of the opposition to the measure, proceeded on the principle, that it was an encroachment on the rights of the states. This argument was sustained, in a very able speech, by Mr Stevenson, of Virginia. The vote on the other proposed amendment, was strong in the affirmative (one hundred and twenty-three to sixty-four); and yet it is probable, that if the question had been pushed, in any tangible detail, it would have met with very slender support. To resolve, in the general, that the election of the president ought, in no case, to devolve on the House of Representatives, is to take a popular ground. To embody the principle of that resolution, in any specific measure, would be found very seriously to intrench on the delicate part of the equality guarantied, in some respects, to the states. Though the resolution

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in favor of a system of districts was rejected, and that in favor of removing the eventual election from the House, sustained by a large majority of that body, yet when the latter resolution was referred to a committee of one from each state, that committee found themselves unable to agree on any report, and were discharged from the further consideration of the subject.

The next subject taken up in 'The Register,' is the Panamá mission; and the proceedings of the two houses upon this question are related in detail. The proposed extension of the judiciary system is then discussed, and with the subject of the finances, the appropriation bills, and the proposed relief of the revolutionary officers, completes the history of the session.

We are aware that an analysis so hasty as this, can give but an imperfect conception of the contents of this part of the volume. It may serve however, at least, to assist those who have not yet seen it, in forming a correct anticipation of its nature. A moment's reflection will be sufficient to produce a strong impression of the value of such a work in our political history, did we possess it in a complete series from the foundation of the government. While many good books, from the nature of their subjects, lose their value with time, and are scarcely thought of after the gloss of novelty is worn from the first edition, the volumes of a historical journal like this, will be prized, almost in proportion to their age. An American Annual Register, commencing with the Revolution, if such a thing could be conceived of in that day of poverty and tribulation, and continued down to the present time, would be positively invaluable to all, whom it imports to be acquainted with our political history.

Although it is, of course, not to be expected, that a contemporaneous narrative of events should possess the value or the interest belonging to a record of the past, yet we are persuaded that a great majority, even of those who consider themselves attentive observers of affairs, would find no little instruction in perusing the condensed narrative of the transactions even of the last congress, as related in the first part of this work.

With the sixth chapter begins, what may be called, in the strictest sense, the foreign history. The West Indies, British, Spanish, and Haytian, are treated in this chapter. The measures adopted by the British government, for the improvement

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of the condition of the blacks, and the proceedings relative to these measures in the islands, are described. The political position of Cuba is next briefly discussed ; and the remainder of the chapter devoted to a very excellent abstract of the proceedings connected with the French recognition of Hayti.

The seventh chapter passes in review the subjects of Mexico, Central America, Rio de la Plata, Chile, and Paraguai ; the eighth is dedicated to Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia ; and the ninth to Brazil. There is perhaps no range of subjects, of which we hear and read so much, to so little purpose, for want of a previous generalization of the main facts relative to so large a family of states. The sketches here given, are executed from good sources, and with commendable diligence. They contain information, curious certainly in itself, highly interesting to the political student, and of unequalled moment to the American statesman. It is too early to say, to what extent our politics will be affected by the emancipation of Portuguese and Spanish America ; but it is not too early to say, that there is no part of the political map of the world, which we of North America may find more temptation or necessity to study, than that which comprehends the regions, which lie to the south of us on this continent.

The succeeding chapters are devoted to Great Britain ; to France ; to Spain and Portugal ; to Russia and the other states of Europe ; and to Greece. They contain as much as the American reader will wish to take along with him, on these states, in order to form a correct and sufficient acquaintance with the political character and historical events of the times. We might refer, for a specimen of the kind and degree of information contained in these chapters, to the sketch of the origin and progress of the war between Russia and Persia.

The fifteenth chapter presents a condensed and satisfactory sketch of the Burmese war, from the origin of hostilities to the treaty of peace ; and the sixteenth, the last chapter of the historical portion of the work, is occupied with events on the western coast of Africa, among the Barbary powers, and in Egypt. Under this last head, are related, sufficiently in detail, the history and fortunes of the present tributary sovereign of that country, Mohammed Ali.

The fifty or sixty pages which follow, under the head of 'Local History and Domestic Occurrences,' form the part of 'The Register,' which is dedicated to the separate states. We have

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already expressed the opinion, that greater extension could be advantageously given to this department. We have no doubt that when the first difficulties of organizing channels of information shall be overcome, this section of 'The Register' will become especially rich in matter and interest. It must be borne in mind, that some of the states, New York at least, numbers nearly half the population of the memorable thirteen, who fought the battles of our Independence; and that her resources, and her public works are, in no degree, below the proportion of her population. Nor can we be unmindful of the vast system of internal improvements now in active progress in Pennsylvania and Ohio, and projected in Massachusetts, in Maryland, and Virginia. The progress of manufactures, the legislative organization, the local controversies of the different states have something of interest. Few, if any of the topics which we have thus glanced at, are wholly omitted in the present volume. We name them only to strengthen the impression of the individual importance of the states, and the consequent expediency of giving to them all the space which can be spared from the other divisions of the work.

The other main portion of the work contains a selection of public documents, both foreign and domestic; a selection of important law cases follows these; and the volume closes with obituary notices of distinguished persons, who have died in the course of the year, particularly of Adams and Jefferson.

Such is a hasty analysis of the first volume of 'The American Annual Register,' a work essentially modelled on 'The Annual Register' of Dodsley, which was projected, and in its historical portion, for many years, written by Burke; and which, with a very fluctuating style of execution, and amidst several able rival publications, has maintained its rank to the present day. A work of the kind, in this country, has long been a *desideratum*, and has once or twice been attempted, and for a short time carried on. The plan of an Annual Register was submitted to the public four years ago, by a gentleman in Massachusetts, and having been necessarily relinquished by him, it has been revived, in New York, by the editor of the present work. To say that this work is everything that the public could expect in such an enterprise, and everything that the editor and his *collaborators* could make it, would be to say, that they are to learn nothing by experience; and by bringing

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into system the numerous and disconnected parts of the organization, implied in such a work. We exhort them and their publishers to persevere, believing that a well conducted Annual Register will not only render an immediate and essential service to its readers in this country; but that those portions of it, which relate to domestic affairs (the largest part in general of the work) will, by affording a better vehicle of information than elsewhere exists, discharge a very important office to the cause of free institutions, by conveying to foreign countries an accurate and detailed statement of their operation here.

ART X.—*Academies of Arts; a Discourse delivered on Thursday, May 3, 1827, in the Chapel of Columbia College, before the National Academy of Design on its First Anniversary.* BY SAMUEL F. B. MORSE, President of the Academy. New York. G. & C. Carvill. 8vo. pp. 60. 1827.

WE hope the name which this Society has assumed, may be found hereafter more appropriate than it appears now. A *National* Academy may be understood to mean a public institution, founded and supported by the nation, or a private association of the first artists of a country. This Academy is of neither of these kinds. It is simply a society of artists in the city of New York, organized for the purposes of exhibition and instruction. As such it is a respectable and praiseworthy beginning; and as we heartily wish success to such an undertaking, we regret the more that they have made so great a mistake in the selection of their name. To call themselves *National Academicians*, is making a claim of distinction which, we must say, is out of proportion to their merits. Nor do we think it is quite time for them to adopt the initials of their institution as a standing title. The N. A. would do very well in the catalogue of their own exhibitions, to distinguish the works of its members, but we find it affixed to their names in that of a private collection, given in a note to this discourse. This, though a trifle, seems to us very ill judged. The practice has been

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tolerated only in Societies, which have established some reputation; and even in those cases, it is a vanity of which their members begin to be ashamed. What would be thought if Mr Stuart should choose to call himself National Portrait Painter, or Mr Allston should take the style of National Historical Painter, and write accordingly after their names, N. P. P. and N. H. P.? Yet they would but be claiming the rank which others yield to them; while the name of National Academician is as inappropriate to some of those, who have dignified themselves with it, as it is injudicious in its application to the best.

It is unjust, moreover, to the reputation of the country. A foreigner could not be much blamed for judging of the state of the arts in America by the National Academy established in the first city of the Union. Nor could he be expected to examine very carefully by what right such a name is borne by this Society. Yet the Academicians could not be willing, that their works should be thought by strangers among the highest efforts of American art. They have given themselves a name, which means, in the common use of language, the great institution of the United States for the arts of design. What may happen hereafter in this particular, we pretend not to foretell; but at present this new Academy comes somewhat short of deserving such a title.

Mr Morse's Discourse is short and appropriate to the occasion. It consists of a very brief sketch of the origin and constitution of the principal academies of arts in Europe, with remarks, chiefly contained in the notes, on the state and prospects of the arts in this country. We cannot agree with the author in all these remarks. Some of them seem tinctured with a degree of dissatisfaction and jealousy, for which we think there is no occasion. He complains bitterly of the practice of buying old pictures, as tending to the neglect of living merit; insists on the inexpediency of any but professed artists intermedling with the government or direction of academies; and deplores the hard fate of the American artist, who, after cultivating his art in foreign countries, returns to find his own so far behind him in taste, that he is doomed to starve in unmerited neglect.

This is all unreasonable and mischievous. We call upon facts to bear witness for us, when we say, that our artists suffer neither from the neglect nor the interference of others. Not

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one of them, who could maintain any reputation in Europe (we mean well earned and tried reputation, and not that very precarious one of being a very promising young man), has lost it by a return to America. There is no undeserved preference for the works of old or foreign painters, and no want of patronage for those of our own. We do not pretend to know all the artists of the country, but we take such an interest in the arts, that we think we have heard of all the good ones; and, as far as our information extends, we say, that they have nothing to complain of. The source of the mistake and disappointment of others is this; our artists do but begin their education in Europe; they are sent there as soon as they discover the first symptoms of genius, and before it is well ascertained whether it is worth while for them to go. There they seem at first to be making prodigious advances (for in art, it is not the *premier* but the *dernier pas qui coute*), and, either from impatience or necessity, they hasten home to enjoy prematurely the fruits of their studies. In so doing they underrate the taste of the country, as it is natural enough they should, having left it before their own was formed. Besides, it is so much easier to learn to judge rightly than to paint well, that even with less opportunity, our judgment may at least have kept pace with the progress of their skill. A taste for the fine arts is but of recent, and has, therefore, been of very rapid growth among us. It is quite as likely, therefore, that the young artist, while learning his elements by a short stay in Europe, should fall behind, as surpass the taste of his countrymen; and it is equally natural, that if there be any interval of separation between them, he will consider himself most in advance.

But let him be assured, that his works are not tried here by a judgment formed only on what has been seen in America. That judgment is founded chiefly on the opinion of those, who have had opportunities of observation, at least as good as his own. The number of those, who have travelled in Europe to see and study the great works of art, has been rapidly increasing, and is now large. Our taste in these things is not of national origin. We have hitherto learned, and must long be content to learn, from older countries. A very few years, therefore, are sufficient to do away the difference between the taste of Europe and America. We have, in fact, made more progress in years, than other nations have in centuries, simply by adopting the fruits of their labors. It is very idle, then, for

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any one to think, that by a few years' residence in Europe he can so get the start of us, that his merit cannot be understood here. It would be much more likely, that, led away by our admiration of foreign models, we should neglect the original beauties of the home-taught pupil of nature. We could give Mr Morse, in vindication of our taste, some illustrious examples among us, of those, who have labored long and patiently abroad, undazzled by their first success, and not content with the admiration of the ignorant, and who have not been disappointed or neglected on their return. Greater wealth, and more splendid distinctions, would have rewarded them in Europe, but nowhere could they have been more honored or valued than they are here. Nowhere could their works have been more eagerly sought at honorable prices. If these examples are too rare to encourage the desponding, let them at least believe, that in their profession, as well as in others, industry and perseverance will prevail; let them believe this, until they can find some examples of neglected merit to authorize their complaints. We have heard of starving and heart-broken genius in other countries, but there never was such a thing in this. The most liberal encouragement is offered to every hope of excellence, and that very liberality has, in many cases, by taking away the sting of necessity, destroyed the promise it would have fostered.

No artist can expect here the highest rewards of his art. He must seek them, if he is entitled to them, in the great capitals of Europe. We cannot make him a prince, or even a knight, nor endow him with 'personal nobility,' like those, whom Mr Morse mentions as examples of European munificence. But we can offer him all the country has to give; reputation, respect, and competency. If these will not satisfy him, he must take Mr Morse's advice, and not return. 'The American artist,' says he, 'may go abroad, but he must not return.' Before his foreign acquirements can be appreciated, he must go back to the point from which he started, take the public by the hand, and lead them on to the eminence he has attained. He may go abroad, and adorn other countries with his works, and the history of his own, with an imperishable name; but if he returns, it will be at the peril of his happiness and his life! Does any one believe this? Is there anything of fact that justifies it? We never heard of any who pined and died after this manner.

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We should give a different advice to the young artist; we should counsel him, if he has the means, to go and faithfully study his art where it is most successfully practised; and not to be in haste to return for fear he should grow too wise to be understood. Let him not only study but practise in Europe. Merely drawing in an academy, and copying a few masterpieces, will not enable him to return with credit and success. Hundreds of students do these things, and do them well, who are never heard of as artists. He must labor long and hard, with the best means of improvement around him, if he hopes for distinction in his own country. And then he may return without fear of injustice. But one thing we repeat to him, and let him not forget it; no attainments which are not sufficient to support and raise him into notice in Europe, will save him from neglect at home. The mere student of foreign academies will not at once be hailed as a master on his return. If he were, it would more clearly prove that deficiency of taste of which Mr Morse complains, than even the neglect of real merit.

Something in the same spirit, Mr Morse deprecates the intervention of any but professed artists in the management of academies. We doubt whether he is right in this. We are inclined to look on this exclusion, as one cause of those bad effects, which he admits to have proceeded from ill-constituted academies. It tends to the formation of a school; which is little else than a system of errors and deviations from that imitation of general nature, which cannot be too exact even for ideal beauty; there is but one nature, and there can be but one true way of painting. Artists may differ, indeed, in their choice of subjects and circumstances; but independently of these, their peculiar manners are chiefly their peculiar defects. Yet it is exceedingly difficult, in the examination of nature, to overcome the prejudices of a favorite system of art. In the same scene, one painter will see nothing but light and shade, while to another it will seem full of color. Fuseli, no doubt, thought he was painting naturally, when he imitated humanity so abominably; and his students, if they had been confined to his instructions, would have learned to see in nature the contortions and extravagances of their master's imagination. But the fact, that the defects of great masters are apt to mislead learners, is as obviously true in painting, as in everything else. And it can hardly be doubted, that, if academies exercise any

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influence, those under the sole direction of artists will be more likely to sanction and perpetuate their errors, than those which admit in their government connoisseurs, who may be, at least, more impartial judges of nature than her professed imitators. But even if this be not so, the exclusion is impolitic. Artists cannot establish themselves in defiance of that portion of the public, best qualified to judge of their works; nor hold themselves entirely independent of those, who support their exhibitions, and buy their pictures. It is essential to their success, that they should inspire others with a love of their art, and diffuse as widely as possible the taste necessary to enjoy it. These associations are highly useful in this way, if they are freely opened to all who are desirous of promoting their objects. But if the direction of them is, by the jealousy of artists, confined to their own number, others will soon be weary of their share in establishments, where taxation and representation are so little united. Where a taste for the arts is already widely diffused, such a system may have some advantages, but where the taste is to be created, a more liberal course would be more expedient. In this, as in other particulars, the difference of the two countries seems to have been overlooked when the Royal Academy is proposed as the proper model of such institutions in America.

There could be no danger here of the other directors interfering improperly with the peculiar province of the artists, and they might often be useful as mediators or umpires between contending parties. They would be the defence of the meritorious against any of their brethren, who might otherwise pervert the power and influence of the academy to selfish or party purposes. That such differences and oppression may exist in these institutions, is well enough proved by their history, particularly by that of the same Royal Academy, whose example is thought to sanction this exclusive system. There has been but very lately a revolt in this institution, which withdrew much talent from its exhibitions. What has been the result, we do not know, but it may be presumed to have been unfortunate for the seceders, however just might have been their complaints. Such occurrences might often be prevented by the intervention of disinterested directors; and when they happen, they lead to consequences much worse, than an occasional deviation from correct taste, even if that were to be feared from the admission of such mediators.

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Mr Morse supports this exclusion by the example of other professions. But in this he confounds associations for the mere regulation of practice, with institutions for the promotion and improvement of art. Besides, the fine arts are things that we can live without, while unhappily law and physic are necessary evils. The arts, to flourish, or even to exist, must be made agreeable to others besides artists. Others must be taught to love and to judge of them, before they will afford a subsistence to those, who practise them; whereas, it requires no combination between doctor and patient to induce the latter to be sick; nor do clients quarrel and go to law because they love to hear the eloquence of their advocates. If the infirmities of mind and body, which support these two learned professions, needed encouragement by the establishment of academies for their developement, no doubt the practitioners would be too liberal to engross to themselves all their advantages. The clerical profession is a more analogous case; for its necessity, though great, is of a moral nature; and the clergy have always, where their power and influence were not secured by the strong arm of authority, called into their associations the pious and sober-minded of the laity.

As to the purchase of old paintings, which is another subject of long and vehement complaint in the Notes to this 'Discourse,' we must again differ from the author. 'No disease,' he says, 'has infected infant art so inveterate, and so retarding to the progress of taste, as this.' Many quotations are added to show the little chance there is of any genuine old pictures being procured now, and the bad effects of collecting them, even if they could be obtained. Mr Morse does indeed, among his censures, introduce this cautious salvo; that he 'would not by any means altogether condemn the collecting of pictures by the old masters;' but he clearly thinks it much better to employ living artists, and even without much regard to their merit. To this effect he cites twice with great applause, from Opie's 'Lectures,' one of he grossest absurdities that ever were uttered, namely, 'that he who employs the humblest artist in the humblest way of his art, contributes more to the advancement of national genius, than he who imports a thousand *chefs-d'œuvres*, the produce of a foreign land.' 'The correctness of this assertion,' adds Mr Morse, 'is abundantly proved by the practice of those noblemen and others, who stand first among the encouragers of art in England.' The examples

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given of this practice, are the purchase by three noblemen of Allston's *Uriel* and *Jacob's Dream*, and of Leslie's *Saul and the Witch of Endor;* which, instead of being humble works of humble artists, are, two of them at least, among the finest pictures of modern times, and by artists who stand at the very head of their profession. When such pictures are neglected, because they are not old, or foreign, Mr Morse may well be indignant; but it is a very different question, whether it is expedient to buy the works of our own artists, simply because they are so. If good American paintings were left unsold, because others of less merit were bought, or for any other cause, we would join heartily in censuring such illiberality. But the fact is not so. The real want in America is not so much of good patrons, as of good painters; and we doubt very much whether Mr Morse could tell us of a single good, not comparatively but absolutely good artist in the country, who does not, or might not by industry, receive a compensation for his labors in full proportion to that gained by other professions. We know of no good pictures left unsold. And if it is supposed, that we ought here to be content with a less degree of merit, and buy pictures which could not be sold elsewhere, we think it is a great mistake. Why should we do so? It would improve neither the taste of the public, nor the skill of the artists, but degrade the one, and retard the other. To spend money in 'employing the humblest artist in the humblest way of his art,' is encouraging national genius, just as much as paying an honest pains-taking tinker for spoiling his work, is encouraging national ingenuity. If the artists could do better elsewhere, they would not stay here for the pleasure of complaining; if they could not, they have no cause to complain.

As to the genuineness of the imported pictures, we should not differ much from Mr Morse in his final results, though we think they depend but very slightly upon his long and grievous preamble of frauds and impostures. For he admits, after all, that there are many good pictures of old masters in the country, obtained in Europe from genuine sources, and that a fine picture still finds its way occasionally across the water, and is added to the collections of professed dealers. This is the true state of the case, and we put as little faith as he does in the undoubted originals, which are sent here by hundreds to be sold by auction. But Mr Morse writes on this subject under a great excitement, of which he has not very well examin-

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ed the causes. When he speaks in person, indeed, it is chiefly of his apprehensions of what may happen; but we think his fears are quite unfounded. Let him look at the horrible lamentations and prophesyings of Barry, Opie, Shee, and Hoare, which he has quoted, and then consider that, so far from having become the receptacle of trash and counterfeits, England is hardly surpassed by any country in her treasures of ancient art. We are not much alarmed by the stories told in the notes of Mr Astley, and the 'officer of more wealth than judgment, that paid a fortune to a London dealer for a gallery of the works of the most reputed masters;' nor do we in the least believe the episode, contained in the same extract, of a starving English painter, who was taken up by a modern-antique factory at Amsterdam, and accidentally found by them to be such a genius, that they were obliged to seek inferior artists to paint Teniers and Wouvermans, while he was employed on pictures in his own manner, to be kept on hand for a future period. Such wholesale imposture cannot be carried on here; and as to the little misnomers that actually take place, they are not of consequence enough to make it worth while for any one to disturb his own tranquillity, or the innocent complacency of the purchasers.

The course of this business in our own city has been this. We have, in the first place, a few small collections of good, and, we believe, genuine, old paintings. Many of these were procured in Europe at a time, when such acquisitions were more easy than they are now. A few years ago we had two or three importations, and among them some good pictures (whether originals or not is of less consequence), which were bought at prices, probably not greater than they were intrinsically worth. The modern English paintings sold about as well as those which were called old. Both kinds were bought because they were thought good, without any great regard to their names. Perhaps there were some mistakes made in that particular; but not more than there would have been in buying as many works of our own artists. Since that time, there has been a flood of trash sent here for sale, too miserable to deceive any one; and it has been sold for prices as miserable, or carried away to a better market. All this time the works of our own artists have been taken up at their fair value; while, on the other hand, several fine old paintings, well authenticated as the works of masters, have, for want of pur-

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chasers here, been sent to England for sale. We know of but one native production of great merit being lost to the country, because its value was not understood. The loss of these really fine pictures we regret, more than we should, that a whole generation of half-taught pretenders should be starved into some more useful employment.

Some of our remarks may seem harsh, but we make them from a sincere love of the arts. We would by no means be illiberal to our own artists, who give any promise of excellence; but there is no propriety in encouraging them in false taste or mediocrity. We would hold high the standard of taste; as high as it is in any place. We would not have the arts degraded even in favor of the artists. And so far are we from approving of anything, which is said to discourage the importation of old and foreign paintings, that we wish still greater facilities were afforded for it. If the old masters were, as we believe, better than the painters of our day, their works should be the models on which to form the public taste; and we would have as many of them as possible. And the same may be said of the modern paintings of foreign countries, so far as they are better than our own. We are not prepared to see the American system, as it is called, extended to literature or the arts. It would be the worst possible policy for the artists. Painting and sculpture are not among the necessaries of life. Much as they improve and adorn society, a taste for them is not even the necessary accompaniment of a high degree of civilization. That from the earliest recorded time, and in almost every nation, rude or refined, it should have been the occupation of a portion of the community to imitate the forms and colors of nature, shows some native propensity in the human mind favorable to the cultivation of these arts. But whether they shall flourish or decay by the intellectual and moral improvement of society, depends, as far as we know, on no fixed law of our nature. They are powerful means of such improvement, and not the necessary consequences of it. A taste for them must not be expected to grow without care and cultivation. And undoubtedly the best means of promoting such a taste, is the exhibition of those works, which show of how much these arts are capable. The better the specimens we see of what has been done, the more desirous we shall be to encourage their progress; and the greater interest we shall feel in the labors of our own artists.

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The love of the arts is, moreover, greatly dependent on remote associations. No man can be thoroughly imbued with it, in our times, who has not seen the wonders they have wrought in times past. For ourselves, at least, we confess, that we should feel comparatively little enthusiasm for sculpture and painting, if we had seen none but their modern productions. They would lose much of the poetical influence which they exert over our minds. We attribute this, not so much to their inferiority in modern times, as to their associations with the history of the past. All painting and sculpture remind us, in some way, of those older works of which we can never think without delight. If Claude, Salvator, and Poussin were forgotten, landscape painting would be much degraded from the high place it now holds; and even historical composition owes much of its elevation to similar associations. Still more do sculpture, necessarily so simple in its forms and uniform in color, and architecture, the principles of which seem so little founded on nature, depend for their interest on the wonderful works, that have come down to us from a yet more remote period.

Without these secondary attractions, we fear that the fine arts would languish and die in these busy and practical days. We have lost many of those sources of excitement, which produced the masterpieces we admire and imitate. Nothing but the contests of the arena could have called out such counterparts of nature as the Fighting and Dying Gladiators, or clothed in such perfect human forms the ideal beauty of the Apollo and Antinous. It was not merely the opportunity of seeing the naked figure in all its variety of action; though that enabled the ancients, ignorant as they probably were of anatomy, to attain in their statues a correctness, which all the science of the moderns has failed to reach; but it was their perfect enthusiasm for athletic exercises, and for the full developement of the physical powers, which made their sculpture the wonder and despair of succeeding ages. So to the enthusiasm of a pompous religion, which no longer exercises its dominion over the imagination, we owe the masterpieces of historical composition in painting. Inanimate nature is still unchanged; and therefore landscape painting has failed less than any other, except portrait, which is the natural growth of busy and selfish society. But even landscape painting requires for

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its perfection, like descriptive poetry, a secluded and contemplative life, which becomes every day more rare and difficult.

We cannot, therefore, join Mr Morse in his confident anticipations of the triumph of American artists over the most transcendent efforts of European genius, ancient or modern. That our country will equal the contemporaneous works of others, we are well inclined to believe; though we cannot but see, in our peculiar situation, peculiar disadvantages. But we can hardly hope that the masterpieces of ancient art are ever to be surpassed here or in Europe. The forms and occupations of society, are growing every day less favorable to the highest efforts of the imagination. We live in an age of utility. Everything which tends directly to improve the physical condition of man, and develope his reasoning and active powers, is cultivated with zeal and success. The most stubborn obstacles of nature are yielding to new and tremendous enginery. What were her impassable barriers, have become highways; and the fabled works of the giants are surpassed by the power of knowledge. Education is sent abroad into all classes of men, to make them feel their strength and use their reason. All this renders the world populous, prosperous, and happy; but it is at the expense of much that we love, and much that elevates and refines the feelings. In this cultivation of the reason, the imagination loses its power. Eloquence, poetry, painting, and sculpture, do not belong to such an age; they are already declining, and they must give way before the progress of popular education, science, and the useful arts. It may be, that when the great work about which the world is now occupied, is accomplished, a new school of art of proportionate grandeur, may arise; but we fear that its best days are past. We cannot but rejoice at this progress of society; still we must wish, that the good it brings might be purchased without so great a sacrifice. We would not withhold the light of knowledge, for fear it should dissipate the most poetical phantoms of the imagination; but we may be allowed to look back on their old haunts, laid open to the vulgar day, with some feelings of regret.

This influence of the age may be doubted, because the disposition to encourage the arts seems still to remain unimpaired in the public. But its earliest effects must not be looked for there; the mind of the artist is its first victim. It chills his enthusiasm, and discourages him from attempting, what per-

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haps he might still perform. He works under the fear of a cold-blooded judgment, which represses that confidence, without which genius cannot work its wonders. To what else can it be attributed, that the princely prices which the works of the old schools still command, have not brought into competition with them modern productions of equal merit? When sums are paid for single and small pictures, which would be an independence to an artist, why is there not in all Europe, nay, why has there not been for more than a hundred years past, a single one whom we can place on a level with the old masters? The decay of eloquence is, perhaps, an even more striking example. Argument is almost all the oratory of our times. Premeditated appeals to feeling and passion have lost their power. Even the most popular assemblies must be convinced before they can be moved. We have grown cautious and suspicious, and are apt to distrust the orator, when he would win us to his side by any exhibition of emotion. We take pride in subduing our feelings to our reason. Every public speaker must feel this, and the consequence is, that our best public speaking is but a cold sort of argumentation. Accidental opportunities for great excitement still occur, but no one can now rely for success on the susceptibility of his audience. It is the same with poetry; it has almost ceased to be produced, and its popularity has sensibly declined, even in our short day. The last that has held any dominion over the public mind, owed much of its interest to the personal character of its author, with which all his works were colored. The practical and historical details of the Scotch novels have already eclipsed it.

There are, however, other causes, which have had their influence in degrading modern art. While the whole *costume* of the actual world has become less adapted to the arts, dramatic acting has been carried almost to perfection. The stage has been made so fascinating by its wonderful exhibitions of talent, that artists have either voluntarily chosen their models from it, or have by habit insensibly lost the power of distinguishing between true nature and these brilliant imitations. This effect is less observable here and in England, than in France and Italy, where it has sunk the art of painting into a gaudy puerility and affectation, of which we hardly know how to express our contempt. This cause has probably operated in fact less on English art, because the people are not so much attached and habituated to the theatre, as the French. But the English schools

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of tragedy and acting, seem to us so much more natural than the French, that the fault is not so striking there, when it exists. That it is a fatal fault, is obvious; for it is copying a caricature instead of the original. Even the best acting can never be a true transcript of nature. The character and sentiments of the drama are poetical and exaggerated. It is in that, as in painting, necessary to color beyond nature to resemble her; and when that exaggerated copy is made the model for another, the departure from the original becomes too wide for the imagination to reconcile. It has been said, that the whole business of French society is *représenter;* it is the same with their historical painting; they aim to show, not how their characters would look and act, but how they should be *représentés.* That the Italians, surrounded by the masterpieces of the arts, which their own country has produced, should have followed in the same course, shows how difficult it is to resist the influence of the actual state of society; and that it degrades the mind of the artist, long before it quite corrupts the public taste, is proved by the fact, that the old Italian school is as much as ever admired, even in those countries where modern art is in the most deplorable state of degeneracy.

If these views are correct, there is more in them to stimulate than to discourage artists. They exhibit no insurmountable obstacles to their progress. The peculiar difficulties that beset them, are in themselves, and therefore within their control. They live in an age unpropitious to the developement of that high enthusiasm, which produces the greatest works of art, but, nevertheless, 'the fault is not in their stars, but in themselves, if they are underlings.' Great minds may resist even the pressure of the age; nay, to resist it, requires only a steady pursuit of acknowledged principles. If the artist will not be seduced by examples, which he cannot approve; if he will disregard the fashion of the day and the practice of his contemporaries; if he will confine himself to his profession, and so avoid the seductions of society, which would lead him away from the contemplation of nature, he may still redeem the reputation of his age and country, and place himself on as high an eminence, as he could have reached, if he had lived in the most favorable period. That this can be done, we think is about to be shown; as much talent and enthusiasm as can be brought to the work have now been employed, in our own community, in one noble effort, for years of patient and persevering labor.

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That it should fail is impossible; but how much can be effected by such appliances in these degenerate days, is a question of deep interest to all among us who love the arts. We pretend not to guess how far this work is to rival those, which have been so long the standards of excellence; but of all the productions of art in the present age, we have no fear in predicting, that the greatest is behind and not far off.

The subject on which our artists most need to be admonished, is the cultivation of the mind. Their great deficiency is a want of vigorous and poetical conception. The mechanical process of drawing and coloring is often well done, but the mind seems not to contribute its share to the work. It is owing to this, that so many have failed to redeem the promise of their youth. From the number who have made good beginnings without instruction, it has been thought, that there was a peculiar talent for the arts in the Americans; but most of these were but examples of that mechanical ingenuity, which certainly is a general characteristic of the people. It may be difficult to convince the artist of this deficiency of mind; but let him place a landscape, for example, of almost any of the living painters by the side of one, of the old masters. He may find the drawing, coloring, and perspective as good, and perhaps better; but the difference between them is, that one is the work of the hand only, the other of the imagination; one shows, perhaps even with less skill in the execution, and often in spite of injury and decay, a fine creation of the mind; the other is a dull copy of what happened to be before the artist, or a composition of commonplace and unmeaning objects. The parts of one seem selected to fill the canvass with picturesque forms and colors, those of the other chosen for the ideas and feelings they are adapted to convey. The difference is like that between poetry, and mere musical verse.

It is natural that as excellence in composition declines, it should be replaced by mere ingenuity; but the attention that is now paid to execution in painting, seems to us to have acted also as a cause in degrading the art. Success in that is comparatively so easy, and satisfies so many minds, that the attention of the artist is drawn from the more laborious task of invention. The common course of study too, gives an undue importance to mere skill of hand. It is all that can be taught by a master, and those who study under distinguished artists, are apt to be content with what they learn of them. This is one bad

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effect, which we may attribute to all academies. They can but teach the form and manner of the art, and they attach so much importance to them, and reward excellence in them with so much distinction, that the student forgets there is anything else to be acquired. The facilities for such acquisitions have become very great, but these will not make an artist. The fine arts are works of the imagination, and the skill of the hand and the eye, is but the means of communicating to others, those thoughts and feelings, which distinguish the artist from the artisan. The mere picture-maker is not above any other nice workman. Even in branches of the art which seem hardly to admit of much invention or exercise of mind, their power is still enough to make all the difference between good and bad. No uncultivated man, whatever be his manual dexterity, can paint a good portrait, or even make a good likeness. The mind of the artist shines out even through his copy of another's features.

Great artists have sometimes begun their labors without intellectual cultivation, but they have never produced their great works until they had overcome the disadvantage. Their paintings were not the results of knack, or of mere practice, but of study, observation, and reflection. Claude began to paint late, without education, and in the lowest rank of life; but we read afterwards of his habit of walking in the fields, not merely to observe, but to explain philosophically to his friends, the beautiful appearances of nature, which he has preserved in his landscapes. Leonardo passed months in studying his unfinished picture of the *Supper*, without touching it.

While we speak thus cautiously about the present claims of our artists, we would by no means be thought indifferent to their success. We should be sorry, if anything we have said should in the least abate the liberality of the public towards them. They must be supported and encouraged now, or we can expect no improvement from them. All we mean in the way of caution is, that this encouragement be governed by discretion; and that it be understood as a stimulus to future efforts, and not the reward of present excellence. We have endeavored to repress what seems to us a repining disposition, founded on an overestimate of their actual claims; but we would not be understood to say, that their rewards are beyond their merits. We have felt the more urged to the remarks we have made, because we thought that complaints like

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those contained in this 'Discourse,' coming from an artist of so much reputation and merit as Mr Morse, at the head of an institution which must exert a considerable influence on those within its immediate neighborhood, might have, if uncontradicted, a most discouraging effect on the younger artists And we confess, too, that, as part of the public, we feel aggrieved at what we consider the injustice as well as the inexpediency of some of the remarks. Even since we began this article, we have seen new proofs, that the American artist has no cause to complain of a want of patronage, in the liberal prices paid in Boston for several works of a favorite artist of Philadelphia immediately on their arrival. Still we would urge on the public the necessity of a liberal and untiring encouragement of the arts. They are eminently useful to the community. They are an ornament at home and an honor abroad. They elevate and refine the national character, and may even in turn protect the country that has fostered them. They have saved cities from fire and pillage, and given a character of sacredness to the countries that honored them. Greece owes to her ancient arts, more than to any other cause, her still cherished hopes of independence. The strength of her citadel lies more in its architecture, than in its fortifications; and her lost gods have done better for her, than her generals.

But we hope it is superfluous to reason about the usefulness of the fine arts. We all feel and acknowledge the importance of a literature of our own, and the good influence of the arts is no less certain. Their effect on the reputation of a country is extensive, because they speak a common language equally intelligible to all nations. And though much more circumscribed in their operation than letters, they act more immediately on the character of a people. Painting, sculpture, and architecture are addressed to the whole mass of society; and being presented directly to the senses, the ideas which they are capable of conveying, lose nothing of their power in the transmission; while written language, at the best, can but excite in the imagination prepared by education to receive it, emotions resembling those of the author. Literature operates on the few who seek its power, while the arts mingle their influences with the objects and pursuits of daily life.

But as sources of pleasure, which, instead of degrading, elevate the mind, they make large demands on our gratitude and care. They occupy, in this way, a place so necessary to

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be filled, that the nation, which can exist without them, must be, as the philosopher said of the man of solitude, much above or much below the common standard of humanity.

ART. XI.—*Letters and Memoirs relating to the War of American Independence, and the Capture of the German Troops at Saratoga.* By MADAME DE RIEDESEL. Translated from the Original German. New York. G. & C. Carvill. 12mo. pp. 323.

THE custom of employing mercenary troops in warfare is as ancient, perhaps, as the history of civilization. It is recognised among the laws of nations, and justified on the ground, that it is lawful for any sovereign, in combating his enemies, to use such means as he can command, both by the physical strength and the wealth of his dominions. These two together constitute the actual measure of his power, to the full extent of which he may exercise his legitimate authority, and repel hostilities. On the side of the mercenary it is alleged, that he has a right to enlist in the service of any country he chooses, provided he does it not to the injury of his own government, and particularly if he has its consent; and since, what is lawful for one is lawful for all, any sovereign may aid another with mercenary forces, if the soldiers who compose them engage voluntarily in the service. No little casuistry has been exercised by writers in discussing these topics, but into this labyrinth we are not about to enter, nor shall we inquire how far usage is borne out by strict principles of justice, or even by a sound policy.

It is quite certain that the British ministry, at the beginning of the American revolution, had no scruples on the subject, and that in Parliament they strenuously defended the course they adopted. The military operations of 1775 in the Colonies had been less successful, than was anticipated, and it was resolved to send over an army the ensuing year, that should quell all disturbances and speedily put an end to the contest. It was proposed to augment this force to fifty-five thousand men, but no more than twenty-five thousand regular English troops could be spared for this purpose. To make up the deficiency, the

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ministers fell upon the expedient of employing mercenaries. In the month of January, 1776, an agent was despatched to Germany, who first made a treaty with the duke of Brunswic, in which it was stipulated, that four thousand three hundred Brunswic troops should be at the disposal of the British government for prosecuting the war in America. A few days afterwards, another treaty was concluded by the same agent with the Landgrave of Hesse, who agreed to furnish twelve thousand men. Similar treaties were also entered into with with the hereditary prince of Hesse, and the prince of Waldec. The whole amount of forces thus obtained in Germany, was somewhat over seventeen thousand men, all of whom, without much delay, were sent to America.

When these proceedings were laid before Parliament, they were censured with great severity by the opposition, both as showing an inability on the part of England to cope with her enemies, a thing not to be acknowledged, and as sanctioning a principle in warfare, which violated justice, and the good faith due from every government to its subjects. It was said, moreover, that the terms imposed on England were extremely unreasonable, and manifested a spirit of cupidity in the German princes, which it was disgraceful to tolerate. There was much truth in this charge. Seven guineas, as bounty or levy money, were to be paid for every soldier. The Duke of Brunswic was to receive, in addition, a stipend of fifteen thousand five hundred pounds sterling a year, and twice this sum for the two years after the term of the soldiers' service expired. The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel was also to be paid one hundred and eight thousand pounds a year; and the other princes in the same proportion. These sums were exclusive of the wages of the troops, which were likewise to be paid by the British government.

The conduct of the German princes in these transactions has generally been reprobated by historians. They literally sold the sinews of their subjects, to be wasted in a foreign land, waging a war in which they could have no possible interest, and this for the unworthy consideration of a pecuniary recompense, which redounded to their personal benefit. It was a private bargain on their part, in which the moral agency and natural rights of the soldiers seem not to have been taken into the account. 'We have read of the humorist Sancho's wish,' said Lord Irnham in Parliament, 'that if he were

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a prince, all his subjects should be blackamoors, as he could, by the sale of them, easily turn them into ready money; but that wish, however it may appear ridiculous and unbecoming a sovereign, is much more innocent than a prince's availing himself of his vassals for the purpose of sacrificing them in such a destructive war, where he has the additional crime of making them destroy much better and nobler beings than themselves.' A celebrated European writer observes, 'that it has not been uncommon for two nations to enter into compacts, by by which one should aid the other in furnishing troops or money in prosecuting a war, which either immediately or remotely affected them both,' but that 'it was reserved for an enlightened age to witness treaties, by which a sovereign condemned his subjects to pour out their blood in a foreign cause, solely for the purpose of increasing his personal wealth.' The Duke of Brunswic's case is said to admit of extenuation. He had lately taken the reins of government; he found the finances in an embarrassed condition, and the people impoverished; and he actually paid away all the money he received from Great Britain for the relief of his subjects.

The Brunswic troops were put in motion, within six weeks after the treaty was concluded, under the command of the Baron de Riedesel. They proceeded first to England, and then to Canada, where they were incorporated into the English army under General Burgoyne, with whom they were eventually captured at Saratoga. The little volume, which we are about to notice, consists of letters from General Riedesel to his wife, but chiefly of letters and memoirs written by herself, describing the principal events that happened to her and her husband during their seven years' residence in America. The volume was printed many years ago in Germany, and is now for the first time translated into English.

Madame de Riedesel early resolved to share her husband's fortunes in America; and as it was not convenient for her to depart with him, it was agreed that she should follow him to Quebec as soon as circumstances would permit. She left Wolfenbüttel, in Brunswic, on the fourteenth of May, 1776, and travelled in her own carriage by way of Brussels, Tournay, and St. Omer to Calais. Her children and servants were her only companions, and her chief confidence was placed in 'good old Rockel,' who had long been an appendage to her father's family, and had attained the post of forester.

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Neither this old domestic, nor any of the party had been accustomed to travelling, and various cross accidents fell out to try the patience of our heroine. Innkeepers were rude, disobliging, and exorbitant in their demands. Robbers had recently infested some parts of the road, and this naturally caused alarm. But the journey was, on the whole, fortunate, and she arrived safely at Calais. We must not forget to mention, that she had three children, all daughters, namely; Gustava, who was four years and nine months old; Frederica, two years old; and Carolina, who was born ten weeks before she departed from Wolfenbüttel. Such a charge was enough to keep alive a deep anxiety in a mother's mind, and to require resolution and fortitude. But in these respects she proved herself adequte to the task she had undertaken. Her tenderness for her children, resolution in braving all difficulties, and habitual cheerfulness, were conspicuous from the beginning to the end of her wanderings.

By the following extract she appears not to have been exempt from the common lot of inexperienced travellers, that of being imposed upon by interested persons. This is a tax, which all must pay at one time or another of their lives, and it will be happy if they escape with as little real inconvenience as Madame de Riedesel, although they will not be likely to fall into a more odd or embarrassing train of incidents.

'On our landing at Dover, we received many congratulations, on having supported so well the fatigues of so long a voyage; but this cost money. I was accosted by more than thirty innkeepers, who all begged me to take lodgings at their houses. I gave the preference to a French hotel, and was much pleased with it. It was a splendid establishment, and particularly remarkable for its extreme cleanliness. The custom-house officers came to visit the baggage, which was rather an irksome business; but I was provided with letters for the collector, who, as soon as he was informed that the purpose of my voyage was to rejoin my husband in America, politely observed, that it would be very rude to vex the wife of a general, who had gone so far for the service of his king. This settled the matter. Having been obliged to leave my carriage at Calais, I found it necessary to take here a post-chaise for my journey to London—a mode of travelling, which is very expensive, as the transportation of the baggage is regulated according to its weight.

'I reached London on the evening of the 1st of June, and found many of my acquaintance there, among whom were Gener-

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al Schlieffen, M. de Kurtzleben, and Count Taube. My husband had written to the latter, begging him to procure for me private lodgings; but, for fear I should not come, he had given himself no trouble about it, by which I might have had better and cheaper accommodations. I was, however, happy to see how much interest my husband had taken in my voyage, and how sure he was that I should keep my resolution, and I rejoiced so much the more that I did not yield to the apprehensions with which some persons endeavored to impress me.

'I must now mention a circumstance, which rendered my lodgings here rather disagreeable. I had trusted entirely to my landlord at Calais, to whom I had been recommended; but now I think that he abused my confidence, by sending over to England many things at my expense. He also advised me not to depart without being accompanied by some trusty man, because I should otherwise be exposed to great dangers; and he seemed to take much pains to procure such a person for me. He at length came with a well-dressed man, whom he introduced to me as a nobleman, a friend of his, who was willing to accompany me to London. I received him with great civility, and felt at a loss how to acknowledge his extreme politeness. In the carriage I begged him to take his seat next to me, and kept the children opposite to to me; thus endeavoring, by all means, to prevent them from being troublesome to him. He affected the manners of a man of much consequence, and ate at my table during the whole journey. I observed, however, that the servants at the inns were on free and easy terms with him; but I did not reflect much upon it, the obligation under which I thought I was to him, blinding me altogether. But I could not help feeling some astonishment when, at the hotel where we alighted, on our arrival in London, I was ushered into a miserable room in the fourth story, though I had asked for a good apartment, and had been assured by M. de Feronce, of Brunswic, that I should find splendid lodgings. I imagined that I could not have a better room because the house was already full, and general Schlieffen, and the other gentlemen who came to visit me, and, particularly, the ladies for whom the hereditary princess, now duchess of Brunswic, had given me letters of introduction, wondered that I was in so bad an abode. On the following day, the landlord came with an abashed air, and a most reverential demeanor, to ask me, whether I knew the man with whom I had arrived, and whom I had so particularly desired him to provide with good lodgings; (I had not thought proper to have him at my table in London.) I answered, that he was a nobleman, who, on the request of Mr Guilhaudin, my landlord at Calais, had been kind enough to accompany me on my

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journey. "Ah!" cried the landlord, "that is one of his tricks. The man is a footman, a "valet de place," a rogue, through whom he is glad to promote his own interest. Seeing him sitting next to you in your carriage, when you arrived, I could not, I confess, believe that you were the lady you pretended to be, and thought that these rooms were good enough for you. But I see now, by the persons that visit you, how much I was mistaken, and I ask your pardon, madam, and beg that you will follow me into another apartment, for which you shall not pay more than for that which you now occupy, for I really wish to atone by all means for my error." I thanked my host, and requested him to rid me of my companion as soon as possible. I was, however, obliged first to pay him four or six guineas (I do not remember the exact sum) for his company. I could never forgive Mr Guilhaudin this trick; and he did not behave much better concerning my carriage. It was he who told me that it was prohibited to import carriages into England, and advised me to leave mine in his care. I was afterwards informed, that his purpose was to do with it, what he had already done with other vehicles entrusted to him, namely, to hire it to travellers on their way to Germany. But this I prevented, by soliciting of Lord North permission to bring it over to England, free from duties. The minister immediately complied with my request, and though this detained me a few days, I found it much to my convenience and comfort to have waited for my carriage.' pp. 64—68.

She remained in London only a few days, when she continued her journey to Bristol, at which port she intended to embark for Quebec in the first suitable vessel that should sail. Here she resided three or four months, prevented by various obstacles from taking her departure, till at length the season was far advanced. She then wrote for advice to Lord George Germaine, Secretary of State for America, who offered her a passage in a packet-ship, which was about to sail. Resolving to accept this offer, she went to Portsmouth for the purpose of taking passage, but here she was discouraged from entering upon a voyage to Canada, which was deemed hazardous on the approach of winter, and which at all events would be attended with infinite discomfort to a lady with three young children. The voyage was given up for the winter, and she returned to London, where she stayed till spring. She speaks cheerfully of the manner in which the time passed during this period, although she had been severely disappointed in not being able to join her husband as soon as she expected. Hours and days that might otherwise have been tedious, she beguiled

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by devoted attention to her children. A circle of friends, in the first ranks of society, afforded her solace and rational amusement. She was introduced to the king and queen, who expressed a lively interest in her situation, and gave her some testimonies of their esteem.

In April she sailed for Quebec, where she arrived on the eleventh of June. General Riedesel was then with the army at Chambly, and his wife remained in Quebec only long enough to dine with lady Carleton, and then hastened onward to meet him. Before she landed, an express had been despatched to give him notice of her arrival.

'Upon reaching Chambly,' she writes, 'I saw several of our officers, and my coachman, whom my husband had left here. I ran towards the latter to inquire after Mr de Riedesel. "He is on his way to meet you," replied he, "between here and Berthieux;" (fifteen miles from Chambly.) I was not a little chagrined at my ill luck. However, General Carleton, who was one of the officers present, approached, and assured me that my husband would certainly be back, at the latest, on the following day. He then took leave of me and returned to Quebec, after having surrendered to General Burgoyne the command of the army. One of my husband's aids-de-camp remained with me, and the time, until the next day, seemed to me uncommonly long. Meanwhile my children, and the honest Rockel, watched on the road, in the hope that M. de Riedesel might yet arrive that evening; and, indeed, a chaise was at length seen advancing up the road, and a Canadian in it. I saw the vehicle stop, the traveller alight, run towards my children, and fold them in his arms. It was my husband! not having yet got rid of his fever, he wore (though it was summer) a blanket-coat or gown, with ribands, and the usual blue and red fringes, in the Canadian fashion. With my baby in my arms, I ran as quick as I could to join the beloved group. My joy was inexpressible, though I beheld with painful feelings the sickly and wearied looks of my poor husband. I found my two daughters bathed in tears; the eldest from joy to see her father again, and the second, because he wore a dress so different from that with which he is represented in the portrait she was wont to see, and from which she had conceived that he was as elegant as handsome. "No, no! this is an ugly papa," cried she in English, "my papa is pretty;" and she would not go to him. But as soon as he had thrown off his Candian coat, she jumped upon his neck.' pp. 124, 125.

We shall not pursue the thread of Madame de Riedsel's narrative, respecting the movements of the army under Bur-

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goyne, from this period till the disasters of Saratoga, although it contains a few facts worthy to be recorded for their historical value, and is throughout spirited and entertaining. Some of her descriptions of what she experienced and witnessed, just before the surrender of the British army, are of too remarkable a cast to be omitted. They depict in strong colors the horrors and distresses of war, while they afford an eminent example of female resolution and endurance.

'While breakfasting with my husband, I heard that something was under contemplation. General Fraser, and, I believe, Generals Burgoyne and Phillips were to dine with me on that day. I remarked much movement in the camp. My husband told me it was a mere reconnoissance; and as this was frequent, I was not much alarmed at it. On my way homeward, I met a number of Indians armed with guns, and clad in their war dresses. Having asked them where they were going, they replied, "War, war," by which they meant they were about to fight. This made me very uneasy, and I had scarcely got home, before I heard reports of guns; and soon the fire became brisker, till at last the noise grew dreadful, upon which I was more dead than alive. About 3 o'clock in the afternoon, instead of guests whom I had expected to dine with me, I saw one of them, poor General Fraser, brought upon a hand-barrow, mortally wounded. The table, which was already prepared for dinner, was immediately removed and a bed placed in its stead for the General. I sat terrified and trembling in a corner. The noise grew more alarming, and I was in a continual agony and tremor, while thinking that my husband might soon also be brought in, wounded like General Fraser. That poor General said to the surgeon, "Tell me the truth; is there no hope?" His wound was exactly like that of Major Harnage; the ball had passed through his body, but unhappily for the General, he had that morning eaten a full breakfast, by which the stomach was distended, and the ball, as the surgeon remarked, passed directly through it. I heard often amidst his groans, such words as these, "*O bad ambition! poor General Burgoyne! poor Mistress Fraser.*"* Prayers were read, after which he desired that General Burgoyne should be requested to have him buried on the next day, at 6 o'clock in the evening, on a hill where a breastwork had been constructed. I knew not what to do; the entrance and all the rooms were full of sick, in consequence of the dysentery which prevailed in the camp. At length, towards evening, my husband came, and from

*'In the original work, these words are in English, as here written.'

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that moment my affliction was much soothed, and I breathed thanks to God. He dined with me and the aids-de-camp in great haste, in an open space in the rear of the house. We poor females had been told, that our troops had been victorious; but I well saw, by the melancholy countenance of my husband, that it was quite the contrary. On going away, he took me aside, to tell me everything went badly, and that I should prepare myself to depart, but without saying anything to any body. Under the pretence of removing the next day to my new lodgings, I ordered the baggage to be packed up. Lady Ackland's tent was near ours. She slept there, and spent the day in the camp. On a sudden, she received the news that her husband was mortally wounded and taken prisoner. She was much distressed; we endeavored to persuade her that the wound was not so dangerous, but advised her to ask permission to join her husband, to take care of him in his sickness. She was much attached to him, though he was rude and intemperate; yet he was a good officer. She was a lovely woman. I divided the night between her whom I wished to comfort, and my children who were asleep, but who, I feared, might disturb the poor dying General. He sent me several messages to beg my pardon for the trouble he thought he gave me. About 3 o'clock, I was informed that he could not live much longer, and as I did not wish to be present at his last struggle, I wrapped my children in blankets, and retired into the entrance hall. At 8 o'clock in the morning he expired.

'After he had been washed, he was wrapped in a sheet, and laid out. We then returned into the room, and had this melancholy spectacle before us the whole day. Many officers of my acquaintance were brought in wounded, and the cannonade continued. There was some talk of retreating, but I saw no indications of it. About 4 o'clock in the afternoon, I saw the house which had been built for me, in flames, from which I inferred that the enemy was near. We were informed, that General Burgoyne intended to comply with General Fraser's last request, and to have him buried at 6 o'clock, in the place which he had designated. This occasioned an useless delay, and contributed to our military misfortunes. At 6 o'clock, the corpse was removed, and we saw all the generals, with their retinues, on the hill, assisting at the funeral ceremony. The English chaplain, Mr Brudenel, officiated. Cannon balls flew around and above the assembled mourners. General Gates protested afterwards, that had he known what was going on, he would have stopped the fire immediately. Many cannon balls flew close by me, but my whole attention was engaged by the funeral scene, where I saw my husband exposed to imminent danger. This, indeed, was not a moment to be apprehensive for my own safety.' pp. 168—172.

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The following events took place after the affair of Bemus's Heights, while the British army was retreating towards Saratoga.

About 2 o'clock, we heard again a report of muskets and cannon, and there was much alarm and bustle among our troops. My husband sent me word, that I should immediately retire into a house which was not far off. I got into my calash with my children, and when we were near the house, I saw, on the opposite bank of the Hudson, five or six men, who aimed at us with their guns. Without knowing what I did, I threw my children into the back part of the vehicle, and laid myself upon them. At the same moment the fellows fired, and broke the arm of a poor English soldier, who, stood behind us, and who, being already wounded, sought a shelter. Soon after our arrival, a terrible cannonade began, and the fire was principally directed against the house, where we had hoped to find a refuge, probably because the enemy inferred, from the great number of people who went towards it, that it was the headquarters of the generals, while, in reality, none were there except women and crippled soldiers. We were at last obliged to descend into the cellar, where I laid myself in a corner near the door. My children put their heads upon my knees. An abominable smell, the cries of the children, and my own anguish of mind, did not permit me to close my eyes, during the whole night. On the next morning, the cannonade begun anew, but in a different direction. I advised my fellow-sufferers to withdraw, for a while, from the cellar, in order to give time to clean it, for we should otherwise injure our health. On an inspection of our retreat, I discovered that there were three cellars, spacious and well vaulted. I suggested, that one of them should be appropriated to the use of the officers who were most severely wounded, the next to the females, and the third, which was nearest to the staircase, to all the rest of the company. We were just going down, when a new thunder of cannon threw us again into alarm. Many persons, who had no right to enter, threw themselves against the door. My children were already at the bottom of the staircase, and every one of us would probably have been crushed to death, had I not put myself before the entrance, and resisted the intruders. Eleven cannon balls passed through the house, and made a tremendous noise. A poor soldier, who was about to have a leg amputated, lost the other by one of these balls. All his comrades ran away at that moment, and when they returned, they found him in one corner of the room, in the agonies of death. I was myself in the deepest distress, not so much on account of my own dangers, as of those to which my husband was exposed, who, however, frequently sent me messa-

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ges, inquiring after my health. Major Harnage's wife, a Mrs Reynell, the wife of the good lieutenant who had, on the preceding day, shared his soup with me, the wife of the commissary, and myself, were the only officers' wives at present with the army. We sat together, deploring our situation, when somebody having entered, all my companions exchanged looks of deep sorrow, whispering at the same time to one another. I immediately suspected that my husband had been killed. I shrieked aloud; but was immediately told that nothing had happened to my husband, and was given to understand, by a sidelong glance, that the lieutenant had been killed. His wife was soon called out, and found that the lieutenant was yet alive, though one of his arms had been shot off, near the shoulder, by a cannon ball. We heard his groans and lamentations during the whole night, which were dreadfully reëchoed through the vaulted cellars; and in the morning he expired. My husband came to visit me, during the night, which served to diminish my sadness and dejection, in some degree. On the next morning, we thought of making our cellar a more convenient residence. Major Harnage and his wife, and Mrs Reynell, took possession of one corner, and transformed it into a kind of closet, by means of a curtain. I was also to have a similar retreat; but I preferred to remain near the door, that I might escape more easily in case of fire. I had straw put under my mattresses, and on these I laid myself with my children; and my female servants slept near us. Opposite to us were three officers, who, though wounded, were determined not to remain behind, if the army retreated. One of them was Captain Green, aid-de-camp to General Phillips, and a very amiable and worthy gentleman. All three swore they would not depart without me, in case of a sudden retreat, and that each of them would take one of my children on his horse. One of my husband's horses was constantly in readiness for myself. M. de Riedesel thought often of sending me to the American camp, to save me from danger; but I declared that nothing would be more painful to me, than to live on good terms with those with whom he was fighting; upon which he consented that I should continue to follow the army. However, the apprehension that he might have marched away, repeatedly intruded itself into my mind; and, I crept up the staircase, more than once, to confirm or dispel my fears, and when I saw our soldiers near their watch-fires, I became more calm, and could even have slept.' pp. 179–183.

After Burgoyne's surrender, the British and German troops were all marched to Cambridge, and General Riedesel and his lady accompanied them. Here they resided a full year very 'quietly and happily,' as our author writes, till Novem-

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ber, 1778, when the convention troops were ordered by Congress to be transferred to Charlottesville in Virginia. This journey of more than six hundred miles at the opening of winter, was attended with great inconvenience to Madame de Riedesel and her children. The weather was very cold, and the roads in some places were blocked up with snow; their accommodations were frequently bad, and, to fill up the catalogue of evils, the people whom they met on the way were sometimes hardhearted and uncivil. They felt an antipathy to the German troops, who had come into a foreign land to espouse a quarrel in which they had no concern; and perhaps it was not unnatural that this feeling should be indulged towards the family of their general, among a people suffering under the calamities of war, and not accustomed to subdue strong emotions, or to inculcate humanity and kindness as a habit. There can be no apology, however, for the incivilities practised on some occasions, and we have no reason to think Madame de Riedesel's complaints exaggerated or unjust. From Cambridge to New Jersey she travelled under the protection of Colonel Robert Troup, an officer in the American army. We transcribe the following extract from the original of Colonel Troup's letter to General Gates, dated at Sussex Court House, New Jersey.

'We had the happiness of reaching Sussex the day before yesterday in the afternoon. You cannot conceive the difficulties we have met with on the road. The people, in almost every house we stopped at, seemed to take pleasure in making our stay as uncomfortable as possible. I am sorry to add, that the women were very impolite to Madame de Riedesel. They could not banish from their minds the notions they have imbibed of the cruelties, which our prisoners have received. Some were afraid of being plundered by us, and others of being killed. One young girl, who had been lately married, cried and gnashed her teeth near two hours, because I requested her to let Madame de Riedesel sleep in her bedroom, where she had a few gowns, pots, and trammels. Indeed such has been the incivility of all ranks and degrees to us, that I have suffered the most painful anxiety ever since I left Cambridge. Madame de Riedesel, the General, and his family have shown me every mark of complaisance and respect. They and the children were very well a few minutes ago, when they set off for Easton. The militia guard, that escorted the General's baggage from Hartford to the York line, broke open some of the boxes and plundered them.'

At last they arrived in Charlottesville, after a fatiguing

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journey of nearly three months, in the midst of winter. General Riedesel had gone forward with the troops, and provided lodgings for his family. This was about the middle of February, 1779, and they stayed in Charlottesville till near the close of the year, when the officers of the convention troops proceeded to New York to be exchanged. They had been in captivity more than two years. Indeed the exchange did not actually take place till the autumn following. In the mean time Madame de Riedesel presented her husband with a fourth daughter, whom they named *America*. Soon after the exchange was effected, General Riedesel was appointed to a command over the British troops on Long Island, where he and his family passed the spring and part of the summer of 1781. He at length desired permission of General Clinton to return to Canada, and take charge of the remnant of his regiments, that had been left there before Burgoyne's expedition. They sailed for Quebec, which place they reached in September, having touched at Halifax on the way. Governor Haldimand stationed General Riedesel at Sorel, at which place he held his headquarters during the remainder of his residence in America, making frequent excursions, however, to Quebec and Montreal, and he and his lady apparently passing their time in contentment and happiness. When peace was ratified and the war closed, they returned to England, where they received tokens of kindness from the king and queen, and attentions from numerous persons of rank. They stayed but a short time in England, and hastened onward to meet their friends in Brunswic, where they arrived after an absence of more than seven years.

The above is a brief and meagre sketch, and our purpose will be answered if any one shall be induced by it to resort to the volume itself. It abounds with curious and interesting facts, related in a sprightly style, and, as far as the writer's knowledge extended, we believe with a strict regard to veracity. We must demur at some two or three of the worthy lady's anecdotes about "tarring and feathering a most respectable woman," and the advice of an American gentleman to "cut off the captive generals' heads." In giving heed to these tales, her credulity got the better of her good sense; but we repeat, that in whatever she relates as coming under her own observation, we put implicit confidence, and are induced to do it, not more from internal evidence, than from the circumstance, that her

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repretentations accord in all essential particulars, with authentic history. She mentions one incident, worthy of notice more from its singularity, perhaps, than its importance. While the articles of convention were in progress at Saratoga, the Brunswic officers took care to conceal their colors, after having burnt the staves to which they were attached. At the time of the capitulation, they gave out that the colors were destroyed, but they were secreted among the baggage, and conveyed in this manner to Cambridge. When they were about to commence their march to Virginia, it became necessary to make some other disposition of the colors to prevent a discovery. Madame de Riedesel devised the plan of concealing them in a mattress, and shut herself up with a tailor in her own room to execute this work. This mattress was taken to New York by a British officer instead of a bed, and thence to Halifax. At this place Madame de Riedesel received it on her voyage to Canada, and 'during all the rest of the passage slept upon these honorable badges.' A different fate awaited the Hessian banners, which were taken at Trenton. General Washington presented them to the state of Pennsylvania, as a testimony of the good conduct of the Pennsylvania troops at the battle of Trenton. They are now in a most unseemly plight, in the office of the Secretary of State at Harrisburg, tattered and torn, and thrust away in a dark corner as useless rags. For ourselves, we acknowledge that we could not witness, without emotion, the indignities thus practised upon what our fathers honored as trophies of the brave, and as testimonials of great deeds in the cause of justice and freedom. There is no better safeguard for a nation, than a reverence for the noble acts of its departed sages, heroes, and patriots, and whatever tends to perpetuate the remembrance of such acts, should be preserved with scrupulous care.

The translation of the volume, to which our attention has been drawn, is understood to have been made by M. de Wallenstein, already favorably known to the public in this department, by his well executed version of the *Leper of Aost*, and the *Russian Tales*. The extracts given above are enough to show, in what manner his task has been performed in the present instance. He manages the English idiom with skill, and combines, with a ready use of words, an ease and vivacity of style. An original preface of considerable length has been prefixed by M. de Wallenstein, which adds to the value of the

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work. We agree fully with his opinions, as expressed in the following passage.

'Madame de Riedesel's memoirs and letters may claim, in addition to an equal interest with the works just mentioned, that, also, which belongs to the true picture of a conjugal devotion, of which there are few brighter examples, whether in history, biographies, memoirs, or even in novels;—of fortitude, courage, and confidence in Providence, of which there can never be afforded too many examples for the eventual profit of the happiest, or the support of those who need encouragement and consolation—and of success in a most arduous but noble undertaking, which, also, may be a lesson to all who have duties to fulfil, that seem above their strength. The moral of the story is more striking and impressive, coming from a female—a lady, who by birth and rank was probably the least prepared to encounter dangers fit only for the professional soldier. Whatever may be thought of the political expediency of admitting into camps, in the midst of actual war, the sex whose organization and whose duties are calculated for the sunny season of peace, the promptitude with which she hastened to traverse the ocean, in order to share with her husband, toils, sufferings, want, or death, and the *reflected* courage with which she disregarded the chances of a struggle, in which she had been told that savages were a portion of the belligerents; will ever be interesting as a new example of the strenuous exertions to which female tenderness can be exalted. There has been, indeed, in recent times but one brighter example of female fortitude and affection. Madame de Larochejaquelin stands alone in inimitable grandeur and goodness, in the midst of circumstances, which put her sex to trials unknown before, and which we devoutly wish may never more return to urge even a heroine equally courageous and amiable, upon the scene of civil wars.

'For the public to whom this translation is presented, it has, moreover, a national interest. Madame de Riedesel's memoirs are a genuine appendix to American history. They trace national events, and delineate the state of society, in this country, at one of its most momentous epochs. Names that will go down to posterity, with the memory of lofty actions and events of a new, lasting, and far-spreading character, are here brought together by one, who was the friend, the associate, the companion, or, at least, the acquaintance of their bearers; of Washington, Gates, Schuyler, Carleton, Burgoyne, Phillips, and the person the nearest related to the noble authoress, General Riedesel.' pp. 8–11.

In the volume is contained a memoir by General Riedesel, on the transactions at Saratoga, written immediately after they

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took place. It throws a good deal of new light on the events of Burgoyne's campaign, and is an important document among the materials for a history of the American revolution.

ART. XII.—*Poems;* by RICHARD H. DANA. Boston. Bowles and Dearborn. 1827. 18mo. pp. 113.

To say that this work is by the author of 'The Idle Man,' is the same thing as to say, that it is written by a man of genius, who possesses the essential qualities of a poet. 'The Idle Man,' which came out in numbers in 1821–2, notwithstanding the cold reception it met with from the public, we look upon as holding a place among the first productions of American literature. It will be referred to hereafter, we doubt not, as standing apart from the crowd of contemporary writings, and distinguished by a character of thought and expression peculiarly its own. One reason why it took so little at its first appearance, was probably the hardihood with which its author slighted the usual arts of attracting the public attention, and conciliating the public favor. It was not a work that reflected the passing image of the day; and the author adopted no fashionable modes of expression, submitted to no fashionable canons of criticism, copied no popular author, and intimated no consent to favorite opinions. He seems to have fixed his attention only upon what he thought the permanent qualities of literature, and his work is one which will be read with the same pleasure a century hence, as at the present time. It does not, therefore, abound with the dexterous allusions to subjects of temporary and accidental interest, and topics of popular reading, by which a degree of sprightliness and attraction is often given to works, that a few years afterwards seem to have unaccountably parted with all their life and spirit. The opinions of the author are thrown off without any discreet reserve, or obsequious qualification, to mitigate the censures of the critic. The style of 'The Idle Man' is genuine mother English, formed from a study of the elder authors of the language, with now and then a colloquial expression of the humblest kind, elevated into unexpected dignity, or an obsolete word or phrase revived, as if on purpose to excite the distaste of the admirers of a stately

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or a modernized diction. It is free from all commonplace ornaments, from all that multitude of stock metaphors and illustrations which have answered the uses of authors from time immemorial.

Add to this that the speculations of the author were as much his own as his style. An original turn of thinking is not the surest passport to immediate popularity. It is much easier, and sometimes much safer, to follow one who thinks in the common track. The most popular authors for the time, and often the most agreeable also, are those who glean up with address the thoughts of others, place them in perspicuous or striking lights, and make them look new by some artful collocation or embellishment, some liveliness of fancy, or skill of contrast. These writers give the mind the gentlest possible exercise, by detaining it on things with which it is already familiar; they never task nor fatigue the intellectual faculty. But it is no light labor to follow the highly original thinker. It requires somewhat of the same effort to grasp and comprehend his conceptions, which it cost him at first to bring them out of the shadows that surround the remoter excursions of thought, to reduce them to distinct shape, and to fix them in language. If there be at the same time anything peculiar and unusual in his style, the difficulty is rather increased than diminished. It is only when his writings have had time to produce their effect upon the public mind, it is only when some of the materials he has furnished have passed into the common stock, out of which the multitude of authors draw materials of speculation, that the man of truly profound and original thought can receive the full measure of his fame.

It might be thought, however, that all this would be compensated for by the strength of imagination, and power in the description and expression of feeling, shown in the work. But the author's imagination is commonly employed in raising up gloomy creations, and his talent at laying open the workings of the human heart, in the delineation of the darker and sterner passions. We have heard these things somewhat strangely mentioned, as being of themselves, in the abstract, an objection to the work. Such critics, we suppose, would be for fitting out 'King Lear' with a fortunate catastrophe, striking out the last act of 'Othello,' and expunging from 'Paradise Lost' the story of the fall and contrition of our first parents. For ourselves, we are willing to leave men of genius at liberty to exert

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their powers in their own way, provided that, like those of the author of 'The Idle Man,' they are exerted to purposes of goodness and virtue. Sadness is oftentimes as wholesome as mirth. The melancholy Jacques has been thought as good a moralist as the funny Touchstone. Nobody ever thought of quarrelling with the landscapes of Salvator Rosa, because they were not painted like those of Claude. If he had taken the advice of some cold-blooded connoisseur, if any such lived in his day, and had undertaken to tame down the stern and savage grandeur of his pieces, and to make them pretty, pleasing, and cheerful, he would only have spoiled them.

There is another peculiarity in 'The Idle Man,' which, while it is the source of many of its excellences, may possibly have had some effect in preventing its immediate popularity. With a great majority of mankind, the emotions of the mind are neither profound nor lasting. Every event brings with it its attendant excitement, either cheerful or sad, and this excitement passes away with the event, as the shadow departs with the object. Their feelings may be often acute and noisy, but they are at the same time brief and superficial. But there are minds of a different mould, upon which the passions fasten more strongly, and where they inhabit longer, devouring the heart in secret. These are the characters, which afford the best opportunity for the analysis of the passions. In these, if we may so speak, the passions sit to be painted; and of these the author of 'The Idle Man' has taken advantage for the exercise of a talent, which he possesses in a remarkable degree. He loves to describe a peculiar and unhappy mood of the mind, cherished, as if by a kind of fatality, instead of being healed, by the succession of events, and the lapse of time; drawing into its vortex all the lesser and feebler emotions, and making them its own nourishment. He loves to show, not merely the agitations of the surface, but the whole ocean upheaved from its profoundest depths, and refusing to be appeased, although calm and sunshine have returned to the atmosphere. These states of the mind are described with great force by the author of 'The Idle Man,' and give occasion to scenes of true pathos, and successful delineations of strong emotion. It is not to be expected, that this kind of writing will please all readers alike. Some, who have never perceived in their own minds any tendency to the process it describes, will not sympathize with it, because they will imperfectly comprehend it; and to others it

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will appear painful, although they cannot deny its power. Of the other merits of 'The Idle Man,' of that delicacy of moral sentiment which pervades and hallows the whole, and that rare susceptibility to the influences of external nature which imparts to it such a charm, we need not speak, for these are perceived by every reader.

We have dwelt the longer on what we had to say of 'The Idle Man,' because the peculiarities of that work are much the same with those of the 'Poems.' In poetry, however, we believe they will be likely to find more favor than in prose. The Teutonic strength of the author's style is favorable to poetic expression; and the study of the old English authors is now justly looked upon, as a necessary part of poetic discipline. It is indeed curious to see, with what pertinacity the art of verse rejects the more worthless innovations on our language, and how steadily it preserves the picturesque and impassioned diction of our ancestors. The contemplative nature of poetry, also, its love of plaintive themes, the liberty it allows of dwelling long and enthusiastically on the emotions of the heart, and the depth and intensity of coloring it requires, are all in our author's favor.

We like this work the better, perhaps, because some of its merits are of a kind not common in modern poetry. It is simple and severe in its style, and free from that perpetual desire to be glittering and imaginative, which dresses up every idea that occurs in the same allowance of figures of speech. As to what is called ambition in style, the work does not contain a particle of it; if the sentiment, or image, presented to the reader's mind be of itself calculated to make an impression, it is allowed to do so, by being given in the most direct and forcible language; if otherwise, no pains are taken to make it pass for more than it is worth. There is even an occasional homeliness of expression, which does not strike us agreeably, and a few passages are liable to the charge of harshness and abruptness. Yet altogether, there is power put forth in this little volume, strength of pathos, talent at description, and command of language. There is the same propensity, as was exhibited in 'The Idle Man,' to deal with strong and gloomy passions, with regret, remorse, fear, and despair; with feelings over which present events have no control except to aggravate them, and which look steadily back to the unalterable past, or forward to the mysterious future.

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The first and longest of the poems in this collection, *The Buccanneer*, is a story of supernatural agency, founded, as the author says in his Preface, on a tradition relating to an island off the New England coast. It is a narrative of a murder committed by a piratical, hardhearted man, of whom the whole island stood in awe, and who at last comes to a strange and horrible end. The poem opens beautifully, with the following lines, descriptive of the island in its present state.

'The island lies nine leagues away.
Along its solitary shore,
Of craggy rock and sandy bay,
No sound but ocean's roar,
Save, where the bold, wild sea-bird makes her home,
Her shrill cry coming through the sparkling foam.

But when the light winds lie at rest,
And on the glassy, heaving sea,
The black duck, with her glossy breast,
Sits swinging silently;
How beautiful! no ripples break the reach,
And silvery waves go noiseless up the beach.

And inland rests the green, warm dell;
The brook comes tinkling down its side;
From out the trees the sabbath bell
Rings cheerful, far and wide,
Mingling its sound with bleatings of the flocks,
That feed above the vale amongst the rocks.

Nor holy bell, nor pastoral bleat
In former days within the vale;
Flapped in the bay the pirate's sheet;
Curses were on the gale;
Rich goods lay on the sand, and murdered men;
Pirate and wrecker kept their revels then.

But calm, low voices, words of grace,
Now slowly fall upon the ear;
A quiet look is in each face,
Subdued and holy fear:
Each motion 's gentle; all is kindly done—
Come, listen, how from crime this isle was won.' pp. 1–3.

The desperate and daring character of the Buccanneer, the gentleness and sorrows of her whose death he had caused, the ruffian's guilty revels, his fits of remorse for his crime, the gradual and complete triumph of that remorse over his mind

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and the final and terrible retribution of his guilt, are very well managed. The incidents are strongly conceived, and brought before the reader, with great distinctness of painting. It seems to us, however, that the rough brutality of the Buccanneer's character is sometimes brought out so broadly, as to have rather an unpleasing effect. Yet nothing, it seems to us, can be better in its way, than the passage in which his remorse is described, after it had finally mastered and subdued his spirit.

'He views the ships that come and go,
Looking so like to living things.
O! 't is a proud and gallant show
Of bright and broad-spread wings
Flinging a glory round them, as they keep
Their course right onward through the unsounded deep.

And where the far-off sand-bars lift
Their backs in long and narrow line,
The breakers shout, and leap, and shift,
And send the sparkling brine
Into the air; then rush to mimic strife:—
Glad creatures of the sea! How all seems life!—

But not to Lee. He sits alone;
No fellowship nor joy for him.
Borne down by wo, he makes no moan,
Though tears will sometimes dim
That asking eye.—O, how his worn thoughts crave—
Not joy again, but rest within the grave.

The rocks are dripping in the mist
That lies so heavy off the shore.
Scarce seen the running breakers;—list
Their dull and smothered roar!
Lee hearkens to their voice.—"I hear, I hear
You call.--Not yet!—I know my time is near!"

And now the mist seems taking shape,
Forming a dim, gigantic ghost,—
Enormous thing!—There 's no escape;
'T is close upon the coast.
Lee kneels, but cannot pray.—Why mock him so?
The ship has cleared the fog, Lee, see her go!

A sweet, low voice, in starry nights,
Chants to his ear a plaining song.
Its tones come winding up those heights,
Telling of wo and wrong;

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And he must listen till the stars grow dim,
The song that gentle voice doth sing to him.

O, it is sad that aught so mild
Should bind the soul with bands of fear;
That strains to soothe a little child,
The man should dread to hear!
But sin hath broke the world's sweet peace—unstrung
The harmonious chords to which the angels sung.

In thick, dark nights he 'd take his seat
High up the cliffs, and feel them shake,
As swung the sea with heavy beat
Below—and hear it break
With savage roar, then pause and gather strength,
And then, come tumbling in its swollen length.

But thou no more shalt haunt the beach,
Nor sit upon the tall cliff's crown,
Nor go the round of all that reach,
Nor feebly sit thee down,
Watching the swaying weeds:—another day,
And thou 'lt have gone far hence that dreadful way.' pp. 36–38.

The next poem, entitled *The Changes of Home*, is of a more humble character, and with less action in the narrative, but it pleases us more than the first. It is in the heroic couplet, and reminds us very strongly of the poetry of Crabbe. It is, indeed, such a tale as he might have written, with more fancy, it is true, more warmth of coloring, a deeper and more continued pathos, and more delicacy of style; but with all his skill of minute and graphic description, his intermixture of dialogue, a good deal of his peculiar rhythm, and a few of his harsh inversions. Every part of this little story is imbued with a deep sadness. One who has long wandered in foreign lands, returns to the place of his birth, and the residence of his early youth, and finds every thing changed. He inquires for those whom he once knew; he is shown an insane woman, whom he remembered as a blooming maiden; and is told a tale of love, misfortune, and death. We should spoil it by attempting to give its particulars in our prose. The following are among the introductory lines,

'How like eternity doth nature seem
To life of man—that short and fitful dream!
I look around me;—no where can I trace
Lines of decay that mark our human race.

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These are the murmuring waters, these the flowers
I mused o'er in my earlier, better hours.
Like sounds and scents of yesterday they come.—
Long years have past since this was last my home!
And I am weak, and toil-worn is my frame;
But all this vale shuts in is still the same:
'T is I alone am changed; they know me not:
I feel a stranger—or as one forgot.

The breeze that cooled my warm and youthful brow,
Breathes the same freshness on its wrinkles now.
The leaves that flung around me sun and shade,
While gazing idly on them, as they played,
Are holding yet their frolic in the air;
The motion, joy, and beauty still are there—
But not for me!—I look upon the ground:
Myriads of happy faces throng me round,
Familiar to my eye; yet heart and mind
In vain would now the old communion find.
Ye were as living, conscious beings, then,
With whom I talked—but I have talked with men!
With uncheered sorrow, with cold hearts I 've met;
Seen honest minds by hardened craft beset;
Seen hope cast down, turn deathly pale its glow;
Seen virtue rare, but more of virtue's show.

Yet there was one true heart: that heart was thine,
Fond Emmeline—O God! it once was mine.
It beats no more. Cruel and fierce the blow
That struck me down, that laid my spirit low;—
No feeble grief that sobs itself to rest—
Benumbing grief, and horrors filled my breast:
Dark death, and sorrow dark, and terror blind—
They made my soul to quail, they shook my mind—
O! all was wild—wild as the driving wind.' pp. 49, 50.

The two poems that follow, entitled *The Husband's and Wife's Grave*, and *The Dying Raven*, both in blank verse, are characteristic of the author, and fine in their way. Mr Dana seems to gain something in freedom of expression, by exchanging rhyme for blank verse, and to lose nothing, as many poets do, in condensation of thought. There are two pieces in the volume, of a more cheerful cast, *The Clump of Daisies*, and *The Pleasure Boat*. The latter is sprightly and graceful, a praise which we are glad to see that the author can earn when he pleases. With the following stanzas from this poem, we take our leave of the work.

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'Now, like the gull that darts for prey,
The little vessel stoops;
Then, rising, shoots along her way,
Like gulls in easy swoops.

The sun-light falling on her sheet,
It glitters like the drift,
Sparkling, in scorn of summer's heat,
High up some mountain rift.

The winds are fresh—she 's driving fast.
Upon the bending tide,
The crinkling sail, and crinkling mast,
Go with her side by side.

Why dies away the breeze so soon?
Why hangs the pennant down?
The sea is glass—the sun at noon.—
—Nay, lady, do not frown;

For, see, the winged fisher's plume
Is painted on the sea.
Below 's a cheek of lovely bloom.
Whose eyes look up at thee?

She smiles; thou need'st must smile on her.
And, see, beside her face
A rich, white cloud that doth not stir.—
What beauty, and what grace!

And pictured beach of yellow sand,
And peaked rock, and hill,
Change the smooth sea to fairy land.—
How lovely and how stlll!

From yonder isle the thrasher's flail
Strikes close upon the ear;
The leaping fish, the swinging sail
Of that far sloop sound near.

The parting sun sends out a glow
Across the placid bay,
Touching with glory all the show.—
—A breeze!—Up helm!—Away!'

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ART. XIII.—*Cartas Marruecas y Poesías Selectas.* Por el Coronel Don JOSE CADALSO. Nueva Edicion con Notas y Acentos de Prosodia, al Uso de los Estudiantes en las Academias, Colegios y Universidades de los Estados Unidos de la América Setentrional. Preparado, revisido y corregido por F. SALES, Instructor de Frances y Español en la Universidad de Harvard en Cambridge. Boston, 1827. Munroe y Francis. 12mo. pp. 288.

THIS book belongs to a class, at the head of which stand the *Lettres Persanes* of Montesquieu, and Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World.* It consists of letters purporting to be written by an intelligent Moor, whom the love of knowledge has brought from Africa to Spain. The points which strike him in the manners and institutions of this country, he communicates to his friend in Africa. He is assisted in his observations by a well informed Spaniard, to whom he resorts for information and the solution of difficulties. This apparatus of means furnishes frequent opportunities for satire both grave and gay, and good use is made of them.

Don José Cadalso, the author of these letters, was a man of very respectable standing among the later writers of Spain. He was a native of Cadiz, born in 1741, of an ancient and noble family, and educated in Paris, where he made himself master of Greek and Latin, and the principal modern languages. He afterwards travelled through England, France, Portugal, Germany, and Italy. At the age of twenty years he returned home, and joined the Spanish forces then employed against Portugal. Doing duty as sentinel one day in the course of the campaign, he met with an officer belonging to the English troops, engaged in assisting the Portuguese, and addressed him in his own language with such correctness and fluency, that he believed him to be his countryman, and gave him important information respecting the plans of the allies. Cadalso communicated this to his general, Conde de Aranda, who immediately appointed him his aid-de-camp, and treated him ever after with marked attention. He remained in the army till his death in the year 1782, attentive to his military duties, though devoted to literature. He was the friend of the most distinguished writers then living in Spain, and by his advice and example, contributed much to bring out the talents of several among

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them. Beside the *Cartas Marruecas* he published a satire called *Eruditos á la Violeta,* in ridicule of the superficial acquisitions of the pretenders to universal erudition; a tragedy, which does not appear to have met with a great deal of favor; and several poetical pieces under the title of *Ocios de mi Juventud,* which are highly praised in the biographical notice, prefixed to the Madrid edition of the *Cartas Marruecas.* He was struck by a shell at the siege of Gibraltar in 1782, and died lamented both by friends and foes.

The class of writings to which these letters belong, is not very numerous. The works of Goldsmith and Montesquieu, mentioned above, are the best known, and the first of their kind. *Espriella's Letters,* by Southey, are in some measure similar. They are, however, much more a book of travels, and much less one of satire and moral reflection, than the letters of Goldsmith, Montesquieu, or Cadalso. The idea of assuming a foreign character for the purpose of criticising one's own countrymen, is a happy one. 'What will the world think of us?' is a feeling that belongs to nations, as well as individuals; and an author, who can conceive with spirit the views of a foreign observer, makes himself a representative of this dreaded tribunal, and gives to his satire much the same piquancy, as if it were really of foreign origin. Moreover, he can utter much plainer truths, than would be allowed, if he wrote in his own character. A certain amount of prejudice, in favor of the institutions and usages of his own country, is expected from every one who speaks or writes in the character of a native, and no writer is permitted to shake it off. The cause is somewhat the same as that of the toleration of each other's weaknesses, required of individuals living in the same family. Domestic comfort demands the one, and social comfort the other. Individuals thrown together in society must endure much that they cannot approve. Human life is made up of compromises. This is as true in the case of a community as of a family. Every reflecting man sees many subjects of censure in the society around him, which he thinks it inexpedient to attack, contenting himself with the thought, that perfection is not to be expected from human nature, and that something is to be borne for the sake of peace.

Now a writer, who, like the author before us, assumes a foreign character, and portrays with truth the ideas which a stranger would form of the customs and institutions of his country,

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to a certain degree receives the same forbearance, and is regarded with the same interest, as if he were really what he pretends to be. If his reflections are such as would be natural to a foreigner, his countrymen cannot help feeling, that they are, in some measure, indications of the opinion of the world, or at least of what the world would think, if the world knew them. The influence, which this gives him, he can turn to much account. Having a far more thorough acquaintance with the character and manners of his countrymen, than can be acquired by a stranger, he can bring the feeling of deference to the world's opinion to bear upon many particulars, which must escape the notice of foreigners. A work of this kind may therefore be made, by a man of talents, highly interesting and useful.

If the *Cartas Marruecas* be inferior to the *Lettres Persanes*, or *The Citizen of the World*, still it is a work of a high degree of merit, and touches with nice judgment, as is observed in the Preface to the Madrid edition, upon 'the faults of contemporary writers, the neglected education of the Spanish youth, and the absurd and injurious customs prevailing among the people.'

A lively picture is given, in one of the earlier letters, of a young Spaniard, who had been left to grow up without pruning. Nuño, the Spanish friend of Gazel, the Moor, tells him that taking a ride one day, near Cadiz, he lost his way on a mountain. While he was endeavoring to regain the path, he met a young man about twenty-two years of age, well dressed and mounted, and of agreeable manners. Nuño being far out of his way, and the night coming on, the young man invited him home.

'As we were leaving the mountain,' says Nuño, 'I could not help noticing the beauty of the trees, and asked my companion if any ship-timber was cut there. "I know nothing about it," replied he, "you must inquire of my uncle, the grand master. He talks all day long about ships, fire-ships, frigates, and galleys. Heaven preserve us! how tedious the good gentleman is. Many is the time I have heard him tell of the battle of Toulon, the capture of the Princess, and the Glorious, the disposition of Leso's ships before Carthagena, with a voice that age and want of teeth had made tremulous. My head is full of Dutch and English admirals. Nothing would tempt him to omit his nightly prayers to St Telmo, for the safety of sailors. These are followed by a long talk about the dangers of the sea; then comes a story of the

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loss of a whole fleet, I do not know what one, on which occasion the old gentleman escaped by swimming; after this we naturally have an episode on the advantages of knowing how to swim."'

The young man goes on for some time with this tirade against his uncle, till

'At length,' continues the narrator, 'we entered on a wide plain, with two villages at a short distance from each other. "A beautiful piece of ground," said I "for arranging sixty thousand men in order of battle." "You must talk to my cousin, the cadet in the Guards, about the matter," said he, with great *nonchalance*. "He knows every engagement that has been fought since the good angels routed the bad; and that is not all, for he can tell you the reasons of every victory, every defeat, and every drawn battle. He has spent I do not know how many doubloons already on mathematical instruments, and has a trunk full of drafts, as he calls them, which are ugly prints without heads or bodies." I gave up the army and the navy, and remarked, "It cannot be far from here that the battle was fought in the time of Don Rodrigo, which cost us so dear, as history tells us." "History!" said he, "I wish my brother, the Canon of Seville, was with us. I never troubled my head about it, for Providence has given me in him a walking library of all the histories in the world. He could tell you the color of the coat that king San Fernando wore when he took Seville."

'We had now almost reached the farmhouse, and the young man had not answered a single important question that I had asked him. My natural frankness led me to inquire how he had been educated. "Just as it suited myself, and my mother, and grandfather, an old gentleman who loved me as the apple of his eye. He died at about a hundred years of age. He had been a captain of lancers under Charles the Second, in whose palace he was educated. My father wished me to study, but he had not much authority, and died moreover when I was very young, without even having had the pleasure of seeing me learn to write. However, a tutor was obtained for me, and matters began to look serious, when a little accident occurred, and disarranged the whole scheme." "What were his first lessons," said I. "None at all," replied the young man; "I could read a romance, and play a seguidilla. What more does a gentleman want to learn? My tutor wished me to go deeper, but he had to smart for it. The case was this. I had met some friends at a cattle-yard. He knew it, and must needs come in to interrupt my pleasure. He arrived just at the time when the herdsmen were

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teaching me how to handle a stick. His ill luck could not have brought him at a worse moment. He had not spoken two words, when I gave him a blow on the head, which opened it like an orange; and thanks to the man who held me, for I had intended to belabor him as if he had been a ten year old bull, but considering it was the first time, I let him go with what I had given him. Every body cried out, "Long life to the young gentleman," and even Uncle Gregory, who is a man of few words, exclaimed, "You have done the business like an angel." "Who is Uncle Gregory?" said I, astonished that he could approve such insolence. "Uncle Gregory is a butcher in the city, who accompanies us in all our merry bouts; we should not know how to get on without him."

'While he was giving me an account of Uncle Gregory, and other respectable personages, we arrived at the house, and I was introduced to a company of young men assembled there, all of whom were friends or relations of my companion, of the same age, rank, and breeding with himself. They were going on a shooting excursion the next morning, and passed the night in playing cards, supping, singing, and dancing, till the hour should arrive for setting out; their merriment being enlivened by a band of gypsies, whom they had fallen in with, and joined to their party. Here I had the happiness of becoming acquainted with Uncle Gregory. He was easily distinguished from the rest by his hoarse voice, large whiskers, rotundity of person, continual oaths, and rude manners. His business was to make and light cigars, trim the lamps, beat time while the livelier members of the party were dancing, and drink to their health in huge draughts of wine. Knowing that I was tired, they made me sit down to supper immediately, and afterwards carried me into a separate apartment to sleep, ordering a boy, who belonged to the farmhouse, to call me in the morning, and guide me to the road. To relate all that was said and done by these youngsters, would be impossible and improper. I shall only say, that the smoke of the cigars, the bawling of Uncle Gregory, the general buzz from so many voices, the rattle of the castanets, the harsh tones of the guitar, the sqeaking of the gypsies, the barking of the dogs, and the discord of the singers, would not allow me to close my eyes during the whole night. In the morning I mounted my horse, saying to myself, "This is the way in which a body of young men are growing up, who might do the state good service, if their education were equal to their talents."'

Another letter illustrates the fondness with which a Spaniard cherishes the idea of a noble descent, though his nobility may be his only inheritance.

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'We Moors have no idea of what is here called hereditary nobility, so that I cannot expect you to understand me, when I tell you, that in Spain, there are not only noble families, but whole provinces, where every man is born a noble. I, myself, who am on the spot, cannot comprehend it. I will give you an example, but you will only be the more puzzled.

'A few days since, wishing to visit my friend Nuño, who was sick, I inquired if the coach was ready. They told me, No. Half an hour after, I made the same inquiry, and received the same answer. When another half hour had elapsed, I asked the same question, and was answered as before. Shortly after, they told me that the coach was ready, but that the coachman was busy. "About what?" said I, and began to go down stairs, when I was met by the man himself, who let me into the secret, saying, "Though a coachman, I am a noble; some of my vassals being in town, they were unwilling to return home without having had the pleasure of kissing my hand. This has detained me, but now I am at leisure; where shall we go?" As he spoke, he took his seat, and brought the coach to the door.'

The following letter will afford a fair specimen of the writer's humor.

'Among the words which my friend intends to put into his Dictionary, the word *victory* is one of those which most require explanation, from the manner in which it is used in modern gazettes. "During the whole course of the last war," said Nuño to me, "I was reading Gazettes and Mercuries, and never could understand which side beat, and which was beaten. The very battles in which I was present, lost their distinctness, after I had read the accounts of them in the public journals. I never knew when we ought to sing *Te Deum*, or when *Miserere*. The common course in these cases is the following. A bloody battle takes place between two large armies, and one or both are cut to pieces; but each general sends home a pompous account of it. The party which has the advantage, however slight that may be, transmits a statement of the killed, wounded, and prisoners, on the part of the enemy, the cannons, standards, kettle-drums, and baggage-waggons taken. The victory is announced at his court with *Te Deums*, illuminations, ringing of bells, &c. The other writes home, that the affair was trifling, not a battle, but a short skirmish of little importance; that, notwithstanding the enemy's great superiority in numbers, he did not refuse to meet him; that the king's troops did wonders; that the engagement ended at the approach of night, and that, unwilling to expose his troops to the chances of a nocturnal conflict, he retired in an orderly manner from the field. On receiving these despatches, *Te Deum* is sung,

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and rockets are fired, at his court likewise ; and nothing is known with certainty, except the death of twenty thousand men, which occasions that of as many orphan children, disconsolate fathers, and widowed mothers." '

In describing the national pride of the Spaniards, our author says ;

' One of the faults of the Spanish people, in the opinion of the other nations of Europe, is pride. If this be really the case, the proportion in which it is observed in different classes is singular, since it increases as the respectability of the individual diminishes ; resembling in this respect the quality, which philosophers have discovered in matter, of a tendency downwards increasing in proportion to the descent of the body. The king washes the feet of twelve beggars on certain days in the year, accompanied by his children, with such humility, that I, though ignorant of the religious meaning of this ceremony, when present at it, was affected even to tears. Nobles of the highest rank, though they occasionally speak of their ancestors, are affable even to the lowest domestics. Those of less elevated caste, speak with more frequency of their kindred and connexions. The gentlemen of the cities are somewhat more sensitive on the point of rank. Before visiting a stranger, or admitting him into their houses, they inquire who was his great grandfather, not departing a hair's breadth from this etiquette in favor of any one, though he should be a magistrate of the highest reputation for talents and learning, or a veteran soldier covered with wounds. The most remarkable thing is, that whatever be the rank of the stranger, it is always regarded as an inexcusable blot on his escutcheon, that he was not born in the town where he happens to be ; for the natives of each are firmly convinced, that nobility such as theirs exists not elsewhere in the kingdom.

' But this is nothing in comparison with the vanity of the village gentry. One of this class walks majestically in the dull market-place of his little hamlet, muffled in a threadbare cloak, contemplating the coat of arms which covers the door of his ruinous dwelling, giving thanks to God that he has created so distinguished a gentleman. He will not take off his hat (supposing he could do it without unmuffling himself), he will not salute the stranger who arrives at the inn, though he should be the chief officer of the province, or the president of its principal tribunal. The most which he condescends to do, is to inquire if the stranger is of a noble family, recognised in the ordinances of Castille ; what is his coat of arms ; and whether he has any relations known in that neighborhood. But what will astonish you most, is the degree to which this vanity is found in mendicants. If alms are refused

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them with any degree of asperity, they insult the man of whom they had just been begging. There is a proverb on this subject which says, "The German asks alms with a song, the Frenchman with tears, and the Spaniard with a growl."'

The next extract presents, in a ludicrous light, the mistakes into which travellers on the wing are apt to fall, by forming a hasty opinion of national customs.

'If men were careful to distinguish the abuse from the use, their disputes would not be so frequent and so obstinate. Their negligence in this respect, occasions continual confusion. Their prejudices keep them in the dark, and they imagine that they see clearer, the closer they shut their eyes. Their mistakes are most gross, when they talk about the character, the customs, or the language of foreign nations. "I remember," said Nuño, "to have heard my father observe, that, toward the close of the last century, during the sickness of Charles the Second, when Louis the Fourteenth was taking every means to gain the affections of the Spaniards, in order to prepare the way for his grandson's elevation to the throne of this kingdom, the French fleets were ordered to conform, as far as possible, to the Spanish customs, whenever they touched at any of the ports of the Peninsula. This was a principal point in the instructions given to the officers. The policy was good, but a mistake in its application was attended with bad consequences at Carthagena. A small French squadron happening to enter the harbor of this place, the commander despatched an officer in a barge to present his compliments to the governor, but ordered him before landing to observe if there was any peculiarity in the dress of the Spaniards, which the French officers might imitate, in order to conform to the customs of the place, and if such was the case, to return immediately and inform him of it.

'The officer reached the shore about two o'clock, in the heat of a July afternoon, intent upon observing the people whom he expected to find assembled there. The warmth of the season, however, had driven every body within doors, and he saw no one but a sober ecclesiastic with his spectacles on, and an old gentleman similarly equipped. The officer, who was a stout-hearted soldier, better fitted to command a fire-ship, or board an enemy's vessel, than to make observations on national customs, concluded that every subject of the crown of Spain was obliged by statute to wear at least one pair of spectacles, day and night. He returned to his commander, and told him what he had seen. The officers of the fleet were sadly puzzled to find as many pairs of spectacles as there were noses in want of them. It happened by good luck,

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that a servant of one of the gentlemen, who used to vend small wares during his master's voyages, had some dozens of the needed article on hand. From these, the party who were to carry the commander's compliments, and likewise the crew of the barge, were immediately supplied. When they reached the shore, they found the landing-place filled with people, whom the report of the French fleet's arrival had drawn together. The Spaniards stared at the new-comers, and could hardly trust their eyes, when they saw a number of young men, of lively manners and gay apparel, thus strangely accoutred. Two or three companies of marines, who belonged to the garrison, had followed the crowd to the shore, and as these amphibious warriors were composed of the dregs of the people, they could not restrain their laughter. The impatient Frenchmen inquired the cause of their mirth, with much more disposition to chastise it, than to have it explained. The Spaniards redoubled their laughter, and a tumult immediately ensued. The governor of the city and the commander of the fleet hearing the noise, hastened to the spot. Learning the cause of the disturbance, and knowing what must be the consequence, they exerted themselves to quell it. This was done with no little difficulty, the two officers being each ignorant of the other's language. A chaplain belonging to the fleet, and a clergyman of the town, who talked Latin and undertook to act as interpreters, did not help the matter much, their eagerness and different manner of pronouncing rendering them mutually unintelligible; added to which, one could not help laughing at the other for sounding the letter *u* as if it were *oo*, which he retorted by ridiculing his fellow-interpreter for pronouncing the diphthong *au* like the letter *o*; the soldiers all the while being employed in cutting each other's throats."'

These extracts will suffice to give our readers some idea of the author's merit. He has considerable humor, with much force and delicacy of satire. The lively style of the work, the correctness of its moral tone, and the insight which it affords into the manners of the Spanish people, render it a valuable text-book for students of the Spanish language.

To the people of the United States, the language and literature of Spain are peculiarly interesting. If we are not attracted by the beauty of its dialect, one of the noblest extant; by the charms of its ancient poetry, distinguished for simplicity and force, for exquisite pathos and manly spirit, full of the strength of feeling and rugged independence which characterized a brave and hardy race, who dwelt in the fastnesses of the mountains, and daily did battle

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for their country and their religion; by the richness and excellence of its drama, from whose stores the other nations of Europe have drawn a large part of the materials of their national Theatres; by the knowledge of life and the comic humor of its numerous novelists;—yet our connexion with Spanish America gives a great and growing importance to the knowledge, both of the language and the literature of Spain. We say of the literature, because the books which are generally read among any people, the sources from which its noblest minds draw their elements of thought, hold an important place among the causes which determine its national character. The young statemen, poets, and philosophers, in fact all the educated people of Spanish America, will be nurtured in the literature of old Spain. Their taste and moral feelings, their religious notions, and habits of thought, must be derived mainly from this source; and such as is their character, will be that of the people at large, with whom we must be intimately connected in the various relations of peace and war.

The importance of an acquaintance with the Spanish language, as a means of intercourse with our Spanish American neighbors, is obvious from the daily growth of our trade in their ports, and the great number of independent states, with which this language will be our medium of communication. Nearly all the southern division of the American continent, and a large part of the northern, belong to the descendants of Spaniards and Portuguese. Wherever we turn our eyes, over two thirds of the New World, we find their idioms prevailing, of which the Spanish is by far the most widely extended. Throughout this immense territory, numerous independent states are springing up, with most of which we shall have commercial, and with all, political relations. These must become, in the course of time, very extensive and complicated, and require constant communication between our country and the southern republics. Moreover, the great interest which we take in the political proceedings of those states, that have just broken their colonial bonds, and are busy in framing new forms of government to secure their newly acquired independence, makes a knowledge of their language valuable.

Mr Sales has done a good work, therefore, in preparing and publishing this American edition of Cadalso. The French copies generally in use are very incorrect, and printed after the old orthography. The errors have been corrected, and

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the omissions supplied, by Mr Sales, and the new orthography of the Spanish academy adopted. But a more important improvement is the introduction of accents, which have been placed wherever they were required to determine the pronunciation. This will prove a great help to learners, often perplexed by the want of uniformity in the place of the accented syllable. In its present dress, this book may be recommended to students of the Spanish language, as one of the best for facilitating a speedy and thorough acquisition of that tongue.

ART. XIV.—*The Talisman for MDCCCXXVIII.* New York. E. Bliss, 1828. 18mo. pp. 268.

WE well remember the interest, with which in our early days we pored over the pages of the *Almanack*, that cheap and curious volume, which in so small a compass combined so great a variety of astronomical, economical, moral, and literary lore. From it might be learned the precise time for performing all the details of the comprehensive catalogue of every purpose under the sun, which Solomon has left on record, as a proof that method in business, and seasonableness in sympathy, are virtues of every age of the world alike. Its ornaments, it is true, were of an unpretending character; a few georgical vignettes for the body of the work, and for the frontispiece, always that cabalistic man, who could never be contemplated on earth without interest, because for him the twelve signs of heaven seemed contending. We have never yet arrived at a perfect knowledge of the limits of their respective sovereignties over this individual, whom we have always considered, like Adam, a mere representative of his race; nor have we ever been able to ascertain the benefits which the 'little state of man' derives from this complicated feudality.

We presume, however, that good reasons can be given for the division by those versed in judicial astrology, a science to which, although our functions are eminently judicial, we have no pretensions; and content ourselves with alluding to the Alma-

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nack, as the first step in a walk of literature, which bids fair to become important among us. Its immediate successors appear to have been the *Pocket Remembrancers* and *Calendars for Ladies and Gentlemen*, in which the literary began to encroach upon the chronical part, and blank spaces were left for memoranda; a line being allotted to each day of life. But suddenly by a change no less indicative of the progress of society, than that by which the three-legged stool on which 'immortal Alfred sat,' expanded into the 'accomplished' sofa along which languid beauty reclines, the simple, sententious, and prophetic Almanack became metamorphosed into the ornamented, narrative, and reminiscent *Forget Me Not*, *Memorial*, *Souvenir*, *Amulet*, *Token*, and *Talisman*. They who are prone to attribute to the influence of woman the improvements which adorn society, may find an illustration of their theory in the rapid growth of these elegant little works. They are carefully adapted to the gratification of female taste. Their embellishments are delicate, the proportion of sentiment usually large, and being generally purchased as presents for ladies of all ages, the sagacity of the publishers has prompted them to 'take no note of time' in them, so that at last the humble and useful Almanack, from which they originated, has become entirely excluded from their pages.

It would hardly be supposed, that the ponderous and labor-loving Germans are the source of all this; that the elaborators of weighty lexicons, and weavers of impervious metaphysics, should have been the first to produce these Lilliputian magazines of wit, sentiment, poetry, and the arts of design. Such, however, is the fact. Among the French they do not seem to be general, nor to have much claim to notice, except for mere external ornament. The English, from whom we have lately imitated them, have borrowed them directly, without any sensible improvement of their plan, from the various '*Taschenbücher*' of the Germans; and, as among the latter people, although now upon the decline, they have risen to the dignity of an established branch of literature, which has been treated as such by their critics, we will venture to place before our readers a brief outline of their progress.

A writer in one of the most popular literary journals of Germany * has described, in a lively manner, the gradual

* Die deutsche Literatur unsrer Tage bietet im Gegensatze zu der

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diminution of size in the repositories of the favorite literature of his countrymen ; * how, in the course of only half a century, the majestic folio has yielded its place to the dignified quarto ; the latter in its turn has retired from before the genteel octavo ; and all have finally been exiled from their shelves by the inroads of the dapper duodecimo. The truth is, that literature, to be popular, must be portable ; and the wits of Germany have certainly shown themselves sages in selecting a medium of so current and extensive a circulation, to imprint with the stamp of their genius. An author, whose subject is within the intellectual reach of general readers, and who wishes to be soon and widely read, is more sure of being so in Germany, by contributing to a *Taschenbuch*, than by any other mode in which he can give his works to the world. It was in this form that Göthe first published his *Hermann and Dorothea*, and his *Natural Daughter;* and Schiller his *Maid of Orleans*. It is even said, that some of the most popular and most beautiful modern poetry of Germany has been created by the ambition of young writers to distinguish themselves, where the opportunity is so readily afforded. Ernst Schulze (a pupil and friend of the celebrated Bouterwek, by whom his works have been collected and published) contended for, and obtained the prize in the *Urania* of 1820, by the production of 'The Enchanted Rose,' a Poem in three cantos, which immediately ran through several editions, and sweetened with its success the last hours of a life, the most of which had been marked by melancholy. We have not yet had the good fortune to meet with this poem ; but the praise bestowed upon it by a judicious, although obviously friendly critic, is, that 'it may be fairly considered, as the most beautiful poem of its kind in the whole circle of German literature, and will last as long as the German language and poetry shall exist.'

The manner in which these works have been got up in Germany, has varied with the objects and characters of the editors.

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frühern ein merkwürdiges Bild dar. Wir brauchen kaum ein halbes Jahrhundert zurückzugehen, und die Bücherbänke in Deutschland blicken uns finster, streng, gelehrt, fast abschreckend an. Ungeheure Folios gönnen auch den beleibtesten Quartanten nur unwillig einen Raum, und diese sehen wieder mit Stolz auf das noch scheu sich anschmiegende Geschlecht der Oktavbände herab. Wie anders ist es jetzt.

* The *Hermes* of 1820, published at Leipzig.

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A large proportion of them has been published by mere booksellers, who have paid at fixed rates for original matter, and have thus filled their pages with contributions from many of the most popular authors. This method, however, has been found liable to difficulties, which in many instances have proved insuperable, and indeed, most of the *Taschenbücher* that have been catered for in this manner, have been but temporary in their duration. The demand for increased elegance in their ornaments and style of publication, has increased the expense to the publisher, without proportionably increasing his profits; the contributors have, from year to year, enhanced their terms, and instead of contenting themselves with the little *quiddam honorarium*, first bestowed upon them as a gratuity, they have shown their knowledge of the value of their own services, by making their own bargains with the publishers, upon thoroughly commercial principles. The competition has become so great, and the number of the works so considerable, as to reduce exceedingly the sale of particular editions; and instances have even occurred, in which entire editions have been almost totally lost, on account of having been prevented, by some of the numerous delays to which works depending on various contributors and artists are always exposed, from appearing in the market at the only period of the year, when it is possible to put them in circulation.

Some or all of these causes have led the German booksellers to look upon the publication of these works, as a ruinous * undertaking; and from the competition which already exists in this country among those of domestic origin, as well as of foreign manufacture, we fear that the same fate will pursue them here, and that the expectations of the publishers will not be sufficiently realized, to enable them to continue their efforts in this line. We will cite one or two instances, to show how brief the period has been of some of the most deservedly popular of these agreeable volumes. The *Taschenbuch für Damen* was begun in 1798, and although enriched by contributions from Huber, Pfeffel, Lafontaine, Göthe, and more than all, Jean Paul, was discontinued in 1802, after a career of only four years. A selection from the works of the most eminent poets, was begun by Schiller, in 1796, and having enjoyed a short celebrity, from some satirical poetry, entitled *Die Xenien*, which

* 'Halsbrechend,' is their own significant expression.

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it contained, and which was attributed by some to Schiller, and by others to Göthe, was relinquished in 1800. The history of many of these productions, although published in the most inviting form, and under the most favorable auspices, appears to have been similar. Yet one of these books of selections *(Blumenlese)* enjoyed a more lasting success. It was edited by Bürger and Voss, from 1770 to 1776, continued by Bürger alone till 1794, and afterwards by Carl Reinhard, till 1803. Anthologies have, however, gradually got out of vogue among the Germans, and a great variety of modes have been devised to revive the interest of readers generally in the annual publications, which they had frequently constituted. Sometimes they have been ornamented by engravings of scenes from the most popular dramas of Schiller, Göthe, and other favorite authors.

Shakspeare, who is perhaps as much read, and as well understood in Germany as in England, has furnished the materials for numerous illustrations. We have now before us the *Urania* of 1823, of which the only embellishments are groups from King Lear, Othello, and Macbeth, accompanied with the corresponding scenes from Voss' translation. Some of them have scenes and illustrations from the Waverley Novels; and subjects no less severe than disquisitions upon the philosophy of the characters of Shakspeare, particularly of Hamlet, and examinations of the peculiarities of the poetry of Lord Byron, are admitted into their pages. Others, again, contain sketches of figures and groups by celebrated artists, such for instance as the *Graces* of Canova, together with criticisms upon their merits, which among us would be considered rather too circumstantial and elaborate for works intended for extensive popularity. Another class still are exclusively dramatic. One of this sort was edited with great success by Kotzebue, from 1803, till his death in 1819. It would be difficult, and we know not whether it would be profitable, to enumerate the multifarious forms in which taste is gratified and the purse tempted among the Germans, at that season of the year when new impulses are given to mutual regard, by accompanying the expressions of it by some such token as these productions most readily furnish.

We have been thus minute in our account of these publications, chiefly to show in what estimation works of this kind are held by another people, at a time when, in our own country,

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they are attempting to vindicate for themselves a respectable station in the ranks of elegant literature. The one, of which the title stands at the head of this article, purports to be from the pen of *Mr Francis Herbert*, a gentleman apparently of much observation, of great versatility of style, of extensive travel, in short, a citizen of the world; although, from the freedom and obvious familiarity with which he comments, in more than one place, upon the *gullibility* of his fellow-citizens of New York, we suspect that the said metropolis has been his principal residence. He certainly is a writer of no ordinary powers; in prose, he delights us, at one moment, with romantic description and striking incident; at another, diverts us with playful disquisition and humorous narration, and at another still, instructs us with original and sober history. In poetry, he passes with equal ease from the gentle to the grand, but we fear that, in this department, his productions are not all perfectly genuine. He complains, indeed, in his Preface, that 'some of his verses have been published among the miscellaneous poems of authors of no mean note,' but unless we are much mistaken, we have formerly seen those beautiful stanzas on 'The Close of Autumn,' as proceeding from the pen of an author certainly 'of no mean note;' but who never borrowed except from the whispers within, and whose characteristic trait of genius is, that he looks round on nature 'with the eye that nature bestows only on a poet.' The 'Sonnet on the Shenandoah at Harper's Ferry,' if it be the actual composition of Mr Herbert, has certainly been attributed to another. We hardly know where to apply the *Sic vos non vobis*, in this disputed claim.

But to proceed from Mr Herbert to his work. It opens with a slight account of the author, written in an easy and confident manner, and well calculated to excite curiosity respecting the contents of his book. Then follow two 'Prefaces to an Album,' of entirely opposite characters; the first is written in a strain of serious morality and tender expostulation, which sounds little like the man of the world, but which will by no means, be thought misplaced, when it is considered that the book which it precedes, is appropriated to the commencement of the year, and that a year may be looked upon as an epitome of life. We subjoin the remarks upon the responsibility of men for the influence, which they exert over others.

'That influence, so powerful in its sway over us, we must, in

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turn, exert upon others. Other minds must become in part the transcripts of ours, and perpetuate the evil or the excellence of our short being here. It is not given alone to the great, the eloquent, or the learned, to those who speak trumpet-tongued to millions of their fellow-creatures, from the proud elevations of power or talent, thus to extend themselves in the production of good or ill into after-times. We are each and all of us, as waves in the vast ocean of human existence; our own little agitation soon subsides, but it communicates itself far onward and onward, and it may often swell as it advances into a majesty and power with which it would scarcely seem possible, that our littleness could have had any participation.

'Happy, then, reader—happy thou, if thou hast confined the bad *tendencies of thy nature to thine own breast,—if thou hast never* proved the cause of offence—not even to any "little one"—if thou hast led none into dangerous error, lulled none into careless or contemptuous negligence of duty, nor ever sullied the whiteness of an innocent mind.

'Yet remember—that it is the mysterious and awful law of thy nature, that no one of us can pass through life insulated and solitary, leaving no trace behind him. Thy influence will be—must be, for good or for evil after thee. Then, although haply thou mayest have but a single talent committed to thy charge, whether thou writest thy thoughts in these pages, or engravest them in living characters upon the hearts of those who trust, or love, or honor thee, strive always, that they may be such as will tend to "give ardor to virtue and confidence to truth," so that others may be holier and happier because *thou hast lived.*' pp. 2–4.

The second 'Preface to an Album' seems almost intended to efface the grave impressions, which its predecessor is adapted to produce. It considers the Album in its primitive and fallen state, that is, before and after it has been written in, and illustrates both its conditions, by a variety of similes, many of which are apt and humorous. A single stanza will serve as a specimen.

'T is like an ancient, single lady's chest,
Where rummaging, the curious heir discovers
Old patterns, worn-out thimbles, and the rest
Of antique trumpery; fans, and flowers, and covers
Of pincushions; a petrified wasp's nest;
Letters from long defunct or married lovers;
Work-boxes, ten-pences that once were new,
And murdered metre, if she was a *blue.*' p. 7.

Mr Herbert next entertains us with an account of a 'hair

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breadth 'scape' from the fangs of a Royal Tiger. The narrative is given with great felicity of expression, and preserves excellent oriental keeping, and perfect probability, throughout. A scene on the banks of the Hudson, illustrated by an extremely pretty engraving, follows next in order. The spot selected is the northern entrance of the Highlands, just above West Point. The poetry is of a pensive cast, and its flow betrays the practised writer. The following stanza, although the thought is by no means novel, has unusual beauty of versification.

'Loveliest of lovely things are they
On earth that soonest pass away;
The rose that lives its little hour
Is prized beyond the sculptured flower;
Even love, long tried, and cherished long,
Becomes more tender and more strong,
At thought of that insatiate grave
From which its yearnings cannot save.' p. 25.

This is succeeded by a neat paraphrase of a passage from Poliziano.

We now come to the story of 'Mr de Viellecour and his Neighbors,' which is appropriately introduced by a short esssay, in which the fallacy of conjecturing character from manuscript is humorously illustrated, and a number of instances are given, some historical, and others within the writer's own experience, of awkward mistakes resulting from indistinct handwriting. The outline of the story is briefly as follows. Mr Viellecour is a descendant of the Huguenots, settled at New Rochelle, in the state of New York; benevolence is the predominant trait of his character, and horticulture and elegant chirography his ruling tastes. A family of Pecks move into his neighborhood, who are all originals, and one of whom, Miss Abishag Peabody Peck, is an original *par excellence*. We will not venture to describe her otherwise than in the author's words.

'Of Abishag or Miss Peck, last presented to my mind, and now painted at full length upon the retina of my mental eye, it may be essential to mention a few characteristics. In respect of matrimony, and rumors of matrimony, she strongly resembled the illustrious Betsey of England; and deserved as little as that "imperial vot'ress," the imputation of passing through life,

"In maiden meditation, fancy-free."

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'She had remained, as I have hinted, for an unascertainable time, mistress of herself, unincumbered with a husband. Whether she really thought the poet wrong, who says that "earthlier happy is the rose distilled," etc. may admit of a doubt. She had long had a fondness, nay, it may be termed a rage, for making people believe (and herself, too, among the rest), that she was constantly solicited to become a bride. In sober truth, shrewd, sagacious, and matter-of-fact, as she was in all things else, touching this affair of marriage, she was subject to strange hallucinations. Her imagination was (if we may speak poetically) redolent of matrimony. The ideal husbands which filled her mind were indeed not exactly such as haply may sometimes flit across the day-dreams of youthful beauty, brave, and young, and handsome, all glowing with the purple light of love, and breathing truth and fervent constancy. Hers were sober and comfortable visions of snug establishments, sprucely painted two-story houses, with well-papered parlors and nice kitchens—huge stores of household linen—men servants and maid servants—one-horse chaises or trim Jersey-built wagons, and, by way of necessary appendage, some respectable helpmate, with a good thriving business, or a round and regularly paid salary. Thus it happened that from time to time the whole neighborhood was informed, of what she more than half believed herself, that offers had been made for her hand, now by a medical doctor at Mamaroneck—now by a reverend professor at New-Haven—now by a rich widower apothecary in the Bowery—now by an old Dutch dominie, on the North River—and now by young Mr Rubric, fresh from the Episcopal Seminary at New York, whose first clerical bands her own fingers had hemmed. The said reverend and medical doctors, the dominie, the apothecary, and young Mr Rubric, meanwhile, remaining not only innocent of all amorous intention, but utterly ignorant of all rumors thereof.

'Of her personal charms it is best not to say much. Could she have been preserved for ever, as she had been for so many years, she would have supplied the desideratum of a standard of long measure, and saved a learned secretary of state, professors of colleges, and revisers of laws, many a long report, as she was perfectly straight, and exactly five feet, eleven inches, and eleven lines high, when unhosed, unbuskined, and unbonneted. Time had not rubbed off nor rounded the acute angularity of her features, or the distinct rigidity of her articulation. There was an irresistibly extortionate air in her countenance, when she wanted to get all the facts out of every body; and it exhibited an arithmetical precision, when she was in a contemplative mood, which showed that she had added up her ideas, and carried nine. Her defunct papa, among his innumerable avocations, had been an

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agent for selling Pomeroy's Universal Patent Catholicon. From him she inherited a great taste for quackery; or, as her mama called it, a genius for medicine; and she preferred giving away, not only her recipes, but her nostrums, to letting her hand get out of practice.' pp. 55–58.

A fit of the rheumatism, by which Mr Viellecour is attacked, induces Miss Peck to send him a recipe for the cure of it, for which, after his recovery, he writes her a letter, couched in the style of old-school gallantry, accompanied by a basket of quinces, and concluding with the tender of his hearty thanks, which from the illegible elegance of the manuscript, is interpreted by Miss Peck, as an offer of his heart and hand. This offer she immedately accepts in a most characteristic epistle, eked out with a number of more characteristic postscripts. The astonished Mr Viellecour is now beset by a letter of license and congratulation from Mrs Jerusha Peck, the mother of Abishag; by another of advice from Dr Epaphroditus Peck, her uncle; by a borrowing note from the Honorable Mr Plutarch Peck, her nephew; by a challenge from Mr Terence Mountjoy, a Gallicized Irishman, who had for some time lived incognito in Mrs Peck's family, and on whom Miss Peck had turned her eyes; by a letter from Lawyer Bull, threatening a suit for breach of marriage promise, on account of attentions paid by him to Miss Betsey Bull; and though last, not least, by an epistle in which it would be difficult to say, whether madness or mantuamaking predominates, from Miss Adèle Eloïse Huggins, whom Mr Viellecour had educated, and whom he had afterwards caused to be instructed in the mysteries of the needle, and finally established in business. From this epistolary volley, and the various evils that it threatens, Mr Viellecour, whose sensitiveness of ridicule is exquisite, seeks safety in flight, and does not return to revisit his household gods, until, by a succession of natural events, the neighborhood is entirely cleared of the authors of his whimsical persecution. The merits of this story are those of fertility of invention, and humor and variety of illustration. Its chief fault is a tendency to caricature in some parts, which, in a production of which the essence is an exaggeration of the features of common life, it must be extremely difficult to avoid. Several of the characters are originally conceived, and all of them naturally sustained. Mr Viellecour interests us constantly by the benevolence of his character, the dignity of his

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recollections, and the innocence of his tastes, even in his most awkward and ridiculous situations. Miss Peck deserves a place in our gallery of national portraits. Terence Mountjoy, however, is decidedly overcharged; in spite of Mr Herbert's pertinacious assertions, we cannot believe that the credulity of our sister of Gotham has ever extended so far, as to be imposed upon by such an uncouth nondescript. We will not attempt to describe or illustrate him; 'none but himself can be his parallel.'* The introduction of this character, however, gives occasion to a digression concerning *humbugs*, which, because it is a very good specimen of that species of humor, which produces its effect by an eloquent accumulation of epithets and images, either ludicrous in themselves, or made so by ingenious juxtaposition, we extract for the edification of our readers. We beg them, however, to consider the charge, which it brings forward against the New-Yorkers, of extreme *gullibility*, entirely as Mr Herbert's, unapproved of by ourselves, for, 'we could not hear their enemy say so' of our brethren of the brilliant metropolis.

'He belongs to a genus of which every one knows more or less, who has seen or heard anything of the phenomena, which for the edification of monster-hunters and monster-gazers, have arisen, culminated, and set, or more often "shot madly from their spheres," in the horizon of New-York society, for the last twenty years. Of this genus there are several species, though the nature of each kind soon passeth away, and "goeth out" of fashion, and of remembrance. Yet, in their brief career, they have charmed female hearts, and turned wise brokers' heads. Such is the power of foreign tongues and foreign titles, foreign jewels and foreign jokes, foreign fashions and foreign fiddling. There is your heroic humbug, as your Waterloo general; your scientific humbug, such as you may meet at the suppers of the Literary and Philosophical Society, or the *soirées* of some Mæcenas; your patriotic humbug, who has "left his country for his country's good," and such you may see everywhere. There is your medical and your musical humbug; your ecclesiastical humbug, your pedagogical

* We have been lately struck by meeting with a justification of the violation of the maxim, or rather its converse, that 'nullum simile est idem,' in an established classic. Cervantes, in describing the barbarian Bradamiro, says, 'He was as bold as himself, for none could be found, with whom he could be compared.' 'Atrevido tanto como él mismo, porque no se halla con quien compararlo.' The Spanish writers of that day must have been as daring as their soldiers.

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humbug, your proselyte humbug, and your new-community humbug; your phrenological humbug, your *cuisinier* humbug, your travelled humbug, and your savage humbug. Last, though not least, there is the real, pure, natural, unlicked, unlettered, unequivocal, unadorned, unadulterated, unsophisticated, unaccommodated humbug; or, as Lear says, "the real thing itself—a poor, bare, forked animal," who, without education, knowledge, or manners—without tongues or travels, jewels or juggles, fashions or falsetto, grace or grammar, will make his way by the dint of sheer and monstrous lying—lying which has neither the merit of invention or consistency; and is so essentially grotesque, that it seems easier to believe it at once, than to believe that it has ever *been* believed.' pp. 61, 62.

Three pieces of poetry succeed the story of Mr Viellecour. One is an original and powerful description of the 'Hurricane;' the next is 'The Serenade,' accompanied by an original design, in which the poet and painter have so perfectly illustrated each other, that we should almost suspect them of being the same individuals; the third is a translation of 'The Butterfly' of De la Martine, which, as it is pretty, and fanciful, and short, we subjoin.

'To be born with the spring, and to die with the rose,
To sip the fresh sweets of young flowers, ere they close,
To float on the wings of the zephyr at even,
And bathe in the rich flood of glory from heaven;
To shake from the wing the light spangles of gold,
And its course to the deep vaults of azure to hold;
Passing off from the bosom of earth like a sigh,
Such is the magical life of the young butterfly.

It resembles Desire, which, in search of new sweets,
Alights on each object of beauty it meets,
But restless—unsated with bliss of the earth,
It returns to the heaven from whence it had birth.' p. 119.

The historical sketch, 'De Gourgues,' has merits of a higher and more serious order, than are often to be found in any works of a merely popular character. It is distinguished by accuracy and depth of research, and by great clearness and strength of style, and leaves us reason to regret, that talents such as it indicates, are not oftener employed in more elaborate and extensive illustrations of our national annals. We next meet with a free translation of one of the best of the *Drammi Sacri* of Metastasio. The character of this author's

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style is well known, even to those who have but a tinge of modern literature. He is remarkable for the extreme felicity with which he expresses natural sentiments, although his writings, particularly in his *arie*, are profusely interspersed with *concetti*. He is said to have been himself so perfectly persuaded of his own unrivalled aptitude of expression, that, in reading his productions to his frends, he would frequently anticipate their applause, by the self-complacent question, *Si può dir meglio?* In his Sacred Dramas, however, he has been less successful. The lightness of his style of composition, and the perpetual recurrence of his *arie* are not suited to the solemnity of his subjects, and he is sometimes extremely frigid in his management of particular scenes. We will point out an instance in the drama immediately before us. On the return of Isaac unharmed from the sacrifice, Sarah faints. Isaac is naturally alarmed, but Abraham reassures him by telling him, that such things are very common, and that his mother will soon come to, if left to herself. Isaac, however, is not satisfied, and cannot understand how one, who has supported so many sorrows, should be unable to support a single joy. Abraham then goes into a philosophical explanation of the matter, winding it up with an *aria*, of which the substance is, that miseries are so common, that men learn to bear them from habit, but felicity is so rare that they are apt to be overwhelmed with the first instances of it. With the difficulties of the original, however, and of the nature of the subject, the translator has successfully contended. The instance below, compared with the passage of which it is a paraphrase, shows an improvement upon the original, in its own style.

'Thine innocent child, in thy late years,
Vouchsafed by Heaven to thy desires,
Whom love so just, so strong endears,
God at thy hand requires;
Requires thine offspring's blood to flow
Beneath thy sacrificing knife,
Requires the priest to strike the blow
Who gave the victim life.' p. 149.

'Quell' innocente figlio,
Dono del Ciel sì raro,
Quel figlio a te sì caro,
Quello vuol Dio da te.
Vuol che rimanga esangue
Sotto al paterno ciglio;
Vuol che ne sparga il sangue
Chi vita già gli diè.'

It would be impossible for us to give a competent idea of this translation by extracts; we will point out the concluding speech of Abraham, as an instance of happy rendering, and remark, in passing, that the engraver has been very successful in the accompanying illustration, with the single exception, that the breadth of the lower side of the face of the infant is too great for his position.

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In the story of Major Egerton, the man of various phases, we strongly suspect Mr Herbert of having indulged himself rather freely in the traveller's license. His hero is an actor of all work, and actually appears in different parts of the narrative as an Indian, an English officer, an actor, a common soldier, a rector, a Mameluke and a howling Dervish, all of which characters he maintains with probability and propriety. Both the descriptive and dramatic parts are well executed, and *se non è vero, è ben trovato.*

We are next presented with a spirited sonnet, on the subject of William Tell in chains, the design of which, by Inman, engraved by Durand, forms one of the principal ornaments of the work.

'The Cascade of Melsingah' is an attempt, of which too few instances are to be found in our literature, to associate with a spot of wild and romantic beauty some tradition, that may give it new interest. The description will readily recall it to the lovers of natural scenery, who have visited it; but we believe, that it is from the author of the present tale, that they must, for the first time, learn its name. If he has not invented the tradition which it includes, he has certainly availed himself of it with great poetical felicity; and the numerous visitors of the scene in days to come, after the perusal of this simple and natural story, will find in it charms to which they were blind before. We must gratify our readers with a single descriptive passage from it.

'Who does not know the little cascade of Melsingah? If any of my readers have never visited the spot, nor heard it described, let me tell them that it is situated on the east bank of the Hudson, a little below the mouth of its tributary Matoavoan, about sixty miles from New York, at the foot of the northernmost ridge of the Highlands, where it crosses the river and stretches away out of sight to the northeast. A brook comes down the crags and woody sides of this ridge, and is fed by the mountain springs throughout the year. After having collected all its waters, it flows for a short distance through the forest, in a narrow rocky glen, parallel to the base of the mountain, and finally pours itself in a thin white sheet over a high precipice. From this precipice, the rocky banks, rising above the top of the cascade to a considerable height, recede on each side, and then return in a curve towards the rivulet, forming a little circular amphitheatre, having the blue pool into which the water descends at the bottom, and, at the lower end, the passage by which the brook hurries off rapidly towards the Hudson. The face of the rock down which the water

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falls, is covered with a thick mantle of green moss, which keeps its place in spite of the current passing over it, and only serves to work the slender sheet to greater whiteness. Trees of the forest overhang the hollow; the maple, the bass-wood, the black ash, and the hemlock mingle their boughs, and the moose-wood rattles its bunches of green keys as you place your hand on its striped trunk. In May the dog-wood whitens the high bank with its flowers; in June the broad-leaved kalmia hangs out its crimson-spotted cups over the stream where it comes down from the cleft above; and all around the witch-hazel flaunts with its straw-colored blossoms in December, like an antiquated belle in the ornaments that belong to the spring of life. Above, is a small open circle among the foliage, corresponding with the shape of the banks, at which the sun looks in for a moment at noon; but the wind never descends into the hollow save in the winter, when it sweeps the loose snow into the glen, and mars the fantastic frost-work of this waterfall. For three quarters of the year the stream pours over its rock unvisited and unheard, save by the few who love what is beautiful in nature for its own sake. But in the hot months it is a place of resort for those who come to see what every body talks about; and the woody solitude is invaded by strange feet, and the solemn and eternal sound of the falling water mingles with voices that have no business there. pp. 198–200.

The 'Legend of the Devil's Pulpit' is the last item of this various assortment. To those who are intimate with the history and localities of New York, it must be extremely diverting. We should almost believe, from the familiarity of his contemporary allusions, that Mr Herbert had been an actor in the scenes he so faithfully describes; for aught we know, the original proprietor of the Pulpit himself. He professes, however, to quote from manuscript documents, and gives us a story, of which the following is a sketch. Tevas Oakes, son of the sexton of Trinity church in 1760, suddenly becomes metamorphosed from a strolling vagabond into an *exquisite* of that period. At the summit of his elevation, partly attained through the instrumentality of 'William Wince,' his tailor, he 'spurns the base degrees by which he did ascend,' and employs another more fashionable artist of the same tribe. Vince in revenge determines to discover and expose the mystery of his ungrateful employer's sudden splendor, and having ascertained that he absents himself every Friday, tracks him, and conceals himself on board of the 'Petty-auger,' which conveys him to Weehawk. He returns the next day in a panic, with a story that 'the Devil preached over at Weehawk, and that he talked handsomer than the

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rector or the recorder.' This story collects, of course, a crowd. They are harangued by Dr McGraw, a most original personage, whose characteristic trait is an abhorrence of quackery, and who, as we are credibly informed is an actual historical personage, yet remembered by the older inhabitants of New York. The Doctor assembles a sufficient force to protect him against all possibility of danger, and after passing through a variety of appalling sights and sounds, arrives at last at the scene of action. The mystery is then discovered to be the contrivance of a band of smugglers, with which Tevas is connected, to protect the magazine of their contraband wares against the visits of the curious. The Doctor seizes the pretended Devil, and after having catechised him in a most whimsical manner, lays him for ever, to the infinite satisfaction of his audience. The strange exorcist then seats himself upon the pulpit, from which he utters the following soliloquy, in the spirit of prophecy, applicable, as we suppose, to the present inhabitants of New York.

'"Yes," said he, "I see how it is. These poor people too must go the way of all flesh. Half a century hence, they will be as wicked as the Londoners. With the same vices, they will have more wit. But what of that? So much the worse for them. They will have their South Sea bubbles, their land bubbles, their bank bubbles, and all manner of bubbles. They 'll have their Stock Market and their New Market; and there will be bulls and bears, lame ducks, rooks and pigeons in both of them. They will have lotteries, and operas, and elopements, and cracked poets, and ballets, and burlettas, and Italian singers, and French dancers. And every second man in a good coat, will be a broker or a lawyer or an insolvent. And there will be no more cash payments; but the women will wear cashmeres, and the men will drink champagne.—And the girls, instead of learning to cook and mend clothes, will be taught to chatter bad French and worse Spanish, and to get their husbands into jail;—but there will be no jails in those days! for they will have bankrupt laws, and three-quarter laws and two-third laws, and the limits will be as big as the county! There will be no more comfortable tea-drinkings, and innocent dances, but they will have their balls and routes and conversaziones and fêtes and fiddlesticks. People will dine by candle-light of week days, and nobody will go to church on afternoons on Sundays! Folks will be knowing in wines and cookery and players and paintings and music, and know nothing of their own affairs. They will go to fashionable churches as an amusement, and to fashionable gaming-houses as

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a business. The girls will learn to waltz of the Germans, and their mammas to flirt from the French. The boys will all be men, and the old men will try to be boys. Then they will have all manner of quackery, from a patent pair of loops to hold up their breeches, to a patent way of paying off the national debt. And they will run after the heels of every quack who comes among them, and think he is the devil himself, though he has not half the sense of the dirty little devil that I have just discharged! And the doctors will quarrel about moonshine, and ruin the character of the profession and themselves by telling the truth about one another! But I shall be gone ere then;—sufficient for the day is the evil thereof!"' pp. 283—285.

This comic narration is accompanied by an engraving from an original design, in which the perspective is preserved with uncommon accuracy and effect.

In concluding our notice of this volume, we deem it but just to remark, that laying aside the mask of the ostensible author, it appears to us to be the production of the leisure moments of two or three ripe scholars and practised writers. We think that we can recognise in scattered parts, the touches of pens, which we have seen engaged in higher employments. The book is certainly an interesting and an amusing one, far above the ordinary works of its class; yet we hope the time is not far distant, when those among us, who are capable of assisting in the great work of building up a national literature, may not be compelled to seek for readers through a medium which must depend, in a great measure, for its popularity upon the arts of publication, and upon the selection of a season to secure general circulation.

Art. XV.—CRITICAL NOTICE.

1.—*Liber Primus, or a First Book of Latin Exercises; prepared for the Use of Schools and Academies.* By Joseph Dana, A. M. Fifth Edition, corrected and improved. Boston. J. H. A. Frost. 12mo. pp. 192.

2.—*The Latin Reader. First Part.* From the Fifth German Edition. By Frederick Jacobs, Editor of the Greek Anthology, the Greek Reader, &c. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, Little, and Wilkins. [Stereotype Ed.] 1827. 12mo. pp. 233.

The first of these little volumes has long been known and generally used in New England, as the first book after the grammar

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for beginners in the study of Latin. The extensive use of the book is the best test of the skill and judgment with which it was compiled. The author is an accomplished and well read Latin scholar of the old school. He prepared, also, the *Latin Tutor*, an introduction to the making of Latin, which has been in common use in our schools. The *Liber Primus*, by far the best book of the kind among us at the time it was published, was nevertheless susceptible of improvement. Mr Dana's removal from New England probably prevented him from giving the work that revision and improvement which the present edition has received from another hand.

It was the object of this book to remove the difficulties complained of in Valpy's Latin *Delectus*, a classical little work, but which advanced too rapidly in the difficulties of construction for most beginners to keep pace with it. 'It must ever be a subject of deep regret,' says our author, 'that, of the rich and invaluable treasures of Roman literature, so little has descended to us expressly prepared for the use of children, or particularly adapted to lead beginners, by regular and easy steps, to the knowledge of the most useful and most interesting of all the languages of antiquity.'

Although this is an evil, which, from its nature admits of no complete remedy, yet much has been done to lessen it; of which the two books before us are evidence.

The most prominent improvements in this edition of the *Liber Primus*, are the omission of the translation at the beginning, and the transposition of the *fables* from the end of the book to a place preceding the *moral sentences*, than which they are much more easy. Boys do not so easily comprehend moral reflections, however simple, as is generally supposed. For, if a literal translation be made, the point is frequently not perceived, or its application not understood. Fables and narrative pieces are much preferable for beginners on this account. The accents and marks for pronunciation, necessary in school books, have also been added, and various additions and modifications have been made in the Dictionary to make it conform in all respects to Adam's Latin Grammar. This is important. Many inconveniences to the teacher, in reconciling contending authorities, are thus avoided. Besides, the book is printed on beautiful paper, and with uncommon accuracy. We have discovered no mistake in it. This little volume comes forward in its new dress and improved condidition with a very prepossessing appearance, and with new claims to attention.

The *Latin Reader, First Part*, was prepared from the German edition by Mr Bancroft of the 'Round Hill School;' who has conferred a favor on the community, by introducing another excellent

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and classical book for beginners in the study of Latin. This work, having previously passed through two editions, is well known to many instructers in this country, as possessing much to recommend it. But it has hitherto labored under the disadvantages incident to the first editions of all books of the kind. Notwithstanding the second edition supplied many deficiencies of the first, yet there was still room for improvement. One great deficiency in the Dictionary still remained; we mean the want of most of the proper names used in the text. This defect was the more felt, as the book is designed for children too young to be incumbered with a 'Classical Dictionary,' which every scholar, when farther advanced, is supposed to possess.

'The following are the most important changes which have been made in the stereotype edition; the accents have been used in all parts of the work; the emphatic words and sentences, which, in the two former editions, were designated by spaces between the letters, are now printed in italics, thus rendering them more distinct. The form of the Dictionary has been entirely altered, and more than *fifteen hundred words*, principally proper names, passive verbs, and participles, have been inserted.' *Advertisement.*

We are now provided with two excellent books for beginners. The *Liber Primus* furnishes rather the more easy and gradual introduction to the study of Latin; and although composed in part of modern Latin, it contains little that is objectionable. It is well adapted to very young students, and to such as are not very vigorous in their intellectual powers. The *Latin Reader* is superior to the *Liber Primus* in point of Latinity, and is liable to no objection on account of classical purity. But it is somewhat more difficult, and better suited to strong and clever boys, and to those who commence studying at an advanced age.

Both these books are now made to conform to Adam's Latin Grammar and Dictionary, in the conjugation of the verbs, the declension of irregular and defective nouns, marks for quantity, &c. The corrections and additions in these respects are numerous and valuable; and evince great care and critical exactness on the part of Mr F. P. Leverett, under whose supervision we understand these books were published. The *Second Part* of Jacobs' Latin Reader has been lately published, and is a judicious and useful continuation of the *First Part* of this work.

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The Rudiments of Conchology, designed as a Familiar Introduction to that Science, with Explanatory Plates. New York.

BIOGRAPHY.

Lempriere's Biographical Dictionary; to which are added Notices of a Hundred Eminent Living Individuals. Hartford. D. F. Robinson & Co. 12mo. pp. 444.

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LAW.

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Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Circuit Court of the United States, for the third Circuit. Vol. II. Philadelphia. P. H. Nicklin.

Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Supreme Court, and in the Court for the Trial of Impeachments and the Correction of Errors of the State of New York. By Esek Cowen. Vol. VI.

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"Of the propriety and even absolute necessity of some such abridgment, as the present, for the purposes of a class or text book, there can be no doubt. But setting aside the service, which has thus been rendered to the business of education, we think the community have good cause to be gratified by the appearance of this edition. The doctrines supported in the Lectures of Dr Brown have certainly not been so generally understood or received, as their simplicity, truth, and importance to science deserve; and this is principally owing to the voluminous form, in which they have hitherto been offered to the reader. In their present state they will doubtless be much more attractive, and will soon become more commonly known and understood."—*North American Review.*

"Dr Hedge, in the performance of the task, which he undertook, we believe has perfectly satisfied the highest public expectations. He has laid aside the superfluous repetitions, and lopped off many of the redundancies, and the needless, though rich embellishments, with which the Lectures were highly decked; while he not only leaves the whole system of Brown entire and untouched, but has placed it in a far

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stronger light and clearer point of view than it originally appeared in. He has loosened and removed cumbersome masses, which then obscured and disfigured it. In short, we believe he has given it the shape that Dr Brown might have chosen, had he prepared it for publication himself."—*U. S. Review and Literary Gazette.*

This Edition of Brown has been adopted as a class book at Harvard College, Cambridge; Yale College, New Haven; Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts; and at Transylvania University, Lexington, Kentucky.

II.

An INTRODUCTION to SYSTEMATIC and PHYSIOLOGICAL BOTANY. By THOMAS NUTTALL, A. M., F. L. S., &c., Lecturer on Botany and Zoology, and Curator of the Botanic Garden connected with Harvard University, Cambridge.

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"It is not always the case, that those, who are the best qualified to furnish elementary treatises, possess the requisite self-denial to pause in their career, for the humble task of writing vade-mecums; and accordingly, we are not always indebted to this class of authors for our Introductions. This consideration greatly enhances the pleasure we feel, in having put into our hands the book before us,—coming, as it does, from one, whose rank among the first botanists of the age is so conspicuous; and we are persuaded, that its accomplished author will receive a rich reward for his labor, in that increased interest, which his work will create, in favor of the pursuit to which he has so long, and so successfully devoted himself."

"The work concludes by a glossary of such important terms as have not been explained in the progress of the work. It is accompanied by twelve very beautiful lithographic engravings; and its entire execution is characterized by neatness and precision.

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"A suitable elementary work in the department of botany has long been a desideratum. It is true there are books without number prepared expressly for this purpose; but none within our knowledge has presented the subject in the intelligible and attractive form requisite to secure the attention of the tyro. The host of strange and uncouth terms that meet him "at the very portal of Flora's temple," as Mr Nuttall remarks, "too often deter the inquirer," and always present obstacles to his approach somewhat formidable and entirely unnecessary. Indeed the impression received by people generally in respect to this delightful science is, that it imposes too heavy a burden of hard words on the memory, to admit of being easily pursued, as if the technical language of botany must be acquired all at once before any advances can be made by the student.

"An elementary work coming from such a source cannot fail to receive general attention, and the good taste and judgment with which it is executed will not disappoint the reader. It accords so well with our own ideas of what an introduction to botany should be, that we hesitate not to express our entire approbation of the author's plan throughout, and in general of its literary merits. We belive that the student will receive the most favorable impressions and the most valuable assistance from the use of it, and will be induced to make greater advances in the science than any other work would lead him to do. He will find its pages unincumbered with technical phraseology until he reaches that period of the study, to which some portion of the "Introduction" is devoted, when it is indispensable; and he will then find a convenient glossary appended that will afford him the necessary assistance in arriving at the meaning of the terms."—*United States Review and Literary Gazette.*

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XI.

The LIFE of JOHN LEDYARD, the AMERICAN TRAVELLER; comprising Selections from his Journals and Correspondence. By JARED SPARKS.

A few particulars in the singular character of Ledyard are well known, and have been often cited as examples of extraordinary energy and decision of mind, and as evidences of uncommon love of adventure and ardor of pursuit. But no general account of his life has been written, nor indeed any thing more than a very brief and imperfect sketch, which was drawn up in England by the secretary of the African Association. This was done a short time after his death, in the year 1790, as a tribute to his memory for having sacrificed his life in promoting the interests of that society. But the writer had scanty materials, and knew hardly anything of Ledyard's history, except during the three last years of his life. The notices contained in Biographical Dictionaries, both in this country and England, are copied from this memoir, and are equally imperfect.

It is understood, that Mr Sparks has obtained from different branches of Ledyard's family, and from other sources, his manuscript journals, and many of his original letters, which afford materials for a more full and authentic biography. From these papers the volume now promised to the public has been prepared. The incidents of his life are extremely various, and many of them excite a strong interest by the enthusiasm, perseverance, and uncommon vigor of mind, which they indicate. He was born in Connecticut, and educated first at Hartford, and then at Dartmouth College, with a view of becoming qualified as a missionary among the Indians. He travelled into the country of the Six Nations, and afterward constructed a canoe with his own hands on the banks of the Connecticut River at Hanover, in which he descended alone to Hartford. The pursuits of a missionary, and the study of theology, not proving congenial to his temper, he embarked on a voyage to the Mediterranean and the West Indies. After returning home, he visited England, joined the British navy, obtained a post in Cook's

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last expedition, with which he continued more than four years, till it arrived again in England. He was in the skirmish in which Cook lost his life, at the Sandwich islands, and was near the great navigator when he fell. At the close of the American war he came back to this country, having been absent eight years, and was the first to propose a voyage to the Northwest coast. In concert with Robert Morris, he planned such a voyage, but after a year spent in an unsuccessful attempt to procure a vessel and fit it out, the project failed. With letters from Mr Morris and other gentlemen he hastened to Europe, intending there to make an effort to accomplish his wish. For this purpose he visited Spain and France, and more than two years passed away in negotiations with mercantile companies and individuals, but without success. He was intimate with Jefferson (at that time our minister in Paris), with Lafayette, and with Paul Jones, who encouraged and aided him.

After encountering numerous difficulties, and not succeeding in his project of a voyage to the Northwest coast, he formed the design of going by land from Paris to Bering's Straits, thence crossing to the American continent, and proceeding homeward over the Rocky Mountains, with a determination to explore those unknown regions. Through the intercession of the Russian minister and Baron Grimm, permission was granted by the empress of Russia for him to pass through her dominions. In London he was patronized by Sir Joseph Banks and other gentlemen of eminence. He went over to Hamburg, thence to Copenhagen, Stockholm, and around the Gulf of Bothnia in the midst of winter to St Petersburg. He arrived there when the empress was on her famous tour to the Crimea, but by the aid of Count Segur and Professor Pallas he obtained a passport from the proper minister and set off for Siberia. It was so late in the season before he reached the borders of Kamtschatka, that the governor of Yakutsk would not suffer him to proceed further till the opening of spring. Meantime the empress became suspicious of his designs, and sent two Russian soldiers after him, who brought him back in the winter to the confines of Poland, a distance of more than six thousand miles, where they left him in poverty and wretchedness. He found his way to London, and was again kindly received by Sir Joseph Banks and his other friends. The Association for Promoting Travels in Africa was just at that time instituted. Being defeated in all his attempts to explore his own country, Ledyard eagerly grasped at the proposal to engage under the auspices of this society. He spent a few days in Paris, and then proceeded to Marseilles, whence he sailed for Alexandria in Egypt. At Grand Cairo he had passed several weeks in gaining an acquaintance with the language and habits of the people, who travelled in the caravans, and had made an agreement to accompany one of these to the interior, when he was suddenly taken ill, and died in January, 1790, being the first victim in the cause of African discovery, to which so many have since become martyrs.

His Siberian Journal has been preserved entire, and several letters written from Russia to Mr Jefferson and other persons. His celebrated eulogy on women, so often repeated, and so beautifully versified by Mrs Barbauld, was written at Yakutsk in Siberia. This journal, also, contains many curious remarks on the character and customs of the Tartars, as compared with the American Indians and the South Sea Islanders, whom he had before seen in various parts of the globe. His journals and letters while he was in France and Spain are hardly less curious, containing observations on men and things often original and always striking. His letters from Egypt to Mr Jefferson and the Secretary of the African Association are equally characteristic. His journal of Cook's voyage, though not a complete narrative, abounds in lively descriptions and pertinent remarks, and his account of Cook's death is drawn up with more vivacity and apparent truth, than any other that has been published. It is believed that the papers, taken together, are worthy of the effort that has been made to rescue them from oblivion, and that the delineation they will afford of the character of their author will not be unacceptable to such readers, as love to contemplate the workings of an ardent mind, engaged in noble pursuits, and encountering with fortitude the obstacles incident to great and hazardous enterprises.

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North American Review,

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